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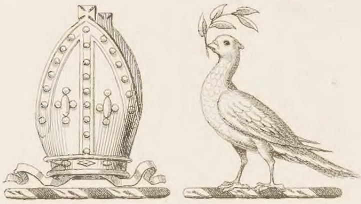

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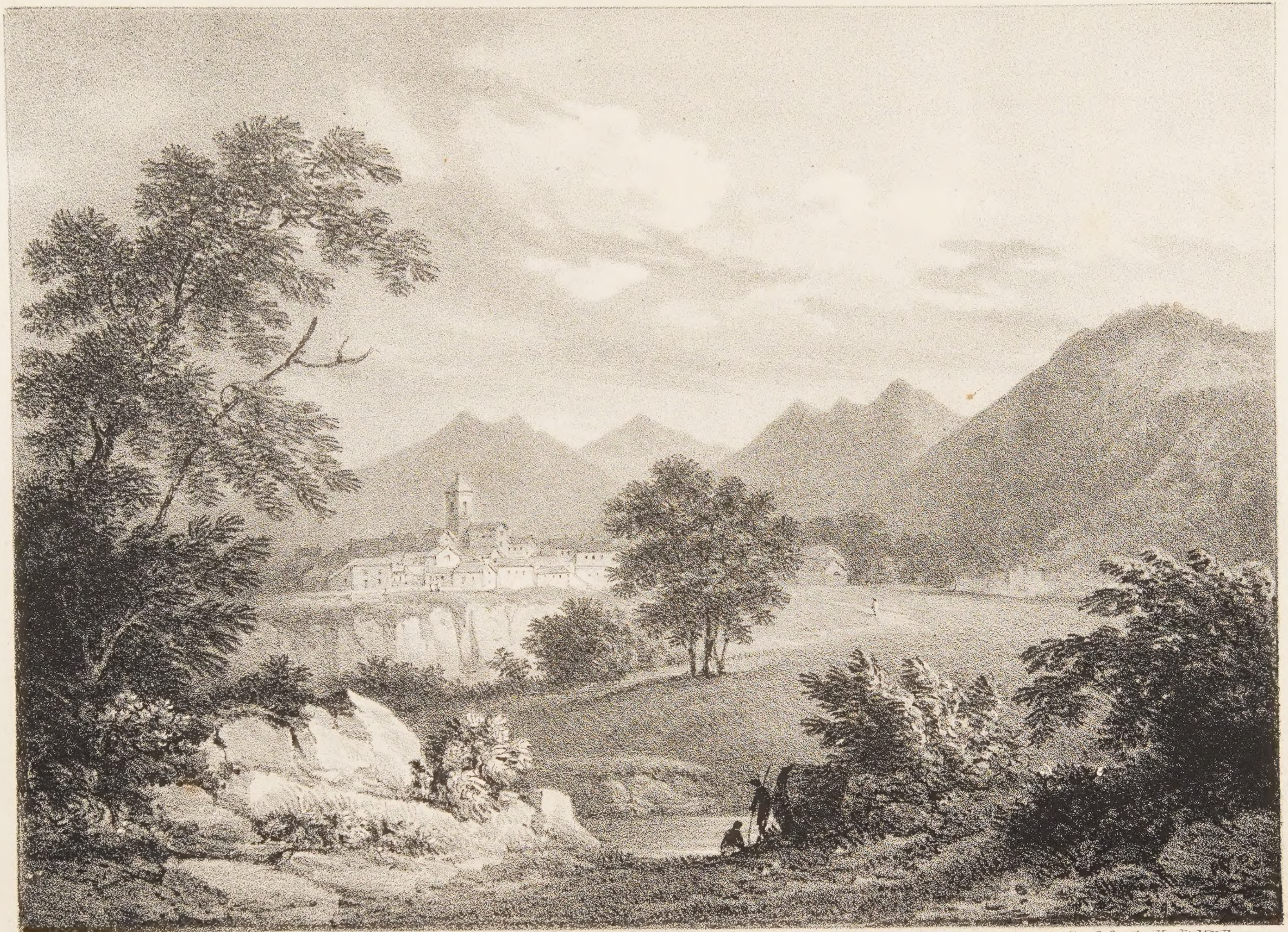

Drawn by F. Nicholson

From a Sketch by the Hon$^{ble}$. M$^{rs}$. Fortescue.

LUCERNA.

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# NARRATIVE
OF AN EXCURSION TO THE
# MOUNTAINS OF PIEMONT,
AND
RESEARCHES AMONG THE
# VAUDOIS, OR WALDENSES,
PROTESTANT INHABITANTS OF THE COTTIAN ALPS;
WITH MAPS, PLATES, AND
**An Appendix,**
CONTAINING COPIES OF ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS, AND OTHER INTERESTING DOCUMENTS, IN
ILLUSTRATION OF THE HISTORY AND MANNERS OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY PEOPLE.

BY THE REV.
WILLIAM STEPHEN GILLY, M.A.
RECTOR OF NORTH FAMBRIDGE, ESSEX;
AUTHOR OF "THE SPIRIT OF THE GOSPEL," "ACADEMIC ERRORS," &c.

> "Qui non palazzi, non teatro, o loggia,
> Ma 'n lor vece un' abete, un faggio, un pino
> Tra l' erba verde e' l bel monte vicino
> * * * * * *
> Levan di terra al Ciel nostr' intelletto."
>
> PETRARCH, Son. 10.

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DEDICATED,

BY EXPRESS PERMISSION,

TO HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

**GEORGE THE FOURTH,**

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

*&c. &c. &c.*

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TO

# THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SIRE,

Having been honoured with Your Majesty's gracious permission to lay before You this Narrative, which is principally occupied in detailing researches made into the present condition and ancient history of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, I embrace, with sincere satisfaction, the hope that a community, which has often found relief and protection from Your August Predecessors, may engage some portion of Your Royal regard.

Such favour has this extraordinary race of people found in the sight of those Monarchs who have successively swayed the sceptre of these dominions, that for the last two hundred years scarcely has there reigned a Sovereign who has not espoused their cause. To whom, indeed, could the **DEFENDERS OF THE FAITH** be more consistently expected to extend their regards than to the descendants of those primitive confessors, who had transmitted to them the Faith they so strenuously upheld.

I cannot but express my humble conviction, that should circumstances ever render Your Benevolent Interposition necessary, this interesting people would not need to have recourse to precedents to move Your Majesty in their behalf. In such an event they would find their most sure and earnest advocate in Your Majesty's own breast.

Sensible as I am of the high distinction of being admitted to approach Your August Presence with this volume, I am still more gratefully impressed with the feeling of the prospect it opens to the Vaudois, of obtaining a large share of Your Sympathy; conscious that a just and righteous cause will never reach Your Majesty's ears without exciting a proportionate interest, and securing a corresponding support.

I have the honour to be,

Sire,

with profound Respect,

Your Majesty's most dutiful Subject,

and most devoted Servant,

WILLIAM STEPHEN GILLY.

Wanstead,
*May* 20, 1824.

# PREFACE.

In the course of the last and present century, the press has teemed with accounts of excursions made to almost every part of the known world; but the picturesque valleys at the eastern foot of the Cottian Alps, with the magnificent mountains which surround them, and the extraordinary race of people, who inhabit this romantic region, would seem, from the little notice that has been taken of them, to have escaped the researches of the tourist. Independent of the unrivalled attractions of the scenery, there are higher considerations, which might have induced travellers, and particularly those from Protestant states, to visit these Alpine fastnesses, which nature seems to have reserved for the theatre of uncommon events. It was here that the Reformed Religion had its birth, and that its martyrs and champions made the first effectual resistance to Papal tyranny; and here too may yet be found that primitive Christianity, those simple manners, and noble traits of character, which must have distinguished the ancient natives of a district, where the corruptions, introduced elsewhere by the Roman hierarchy, were never tolerated.

I am not aware of any publication, that has anticipated this attempt to call the attention of readers to the scenes described in the following pages, nor do I know of any volume in which the present condition of the Vaudois, and their former interesting history, is brought under review in the form which I have here adopted. The list of books, inserted in the Appendix, No. I. contains the principal authorities, which have been consulted for the purpose of giving a correct sketch of the ancient Waldensian churches: these books are, for the most part, very rare, and if they were not so, the distance of time at which they were printed, and the periods of history that they comprise, would show, that the writer of a narrative, who brings the relation down to the last year, is taking up ground, that has not yet been occupied, unless indeed by an occasional pamphlet.

My principal object is to make the singular community, which forms the leading subject of this volume, more known to the world, than it has lately been[a]; and to re-announce, what seems to be almost forgotten, that the race of the old Waldenses, of whom such extraordinary tales have been told by crusaders, inquisitors, troubadours, romancers, and historians, still exists in the Vaudois, still occupies the strong holds of rock and mountain, from which their fathers never could be driven, and still resembles the ancient stock in every thing that constitutes "A PEOPLE OF GOD." I have therefore chosen to throw a great part of my materials into the more attractive form of a traveller's narrative, interwoven with incidents, anecdotes, and observations, in order that I may catch the attention of such readers, as would not engage with a work professedly ecclesiastical.

---

[a] Those who take an interest in the Vaudois must regret, that they have not found a more conspicuous place in Mr. Southey's admirable work, "The Book of the Church."

The weightier matter, and such as could not conveniently be introduced in the Narrative, but which is indispensable towards an illustration of the subject, is added in an Appendix, which has been adopted in preference to notes, as the latter are sometimes thought to interrupt the continuity of a relation, and are often overlooked entirely.

The documents contained in the Appendix will not be thought cumbersome or unessential to the work, by those who love to grapple with the subject. They will assist the researches of such as are inclined to investigate the opinions and conduct of the Waldenses, as opposed to the Romanists; and will enable them to trace the former, with the interruption of very short intervals, from the primitive, through the dark and middle ages, to the present enlightened times; and to recognize their political existence from century to century, either in the writings of their barbes, in the bulls of popes, or in the edicts of princes.

One of the maps, that of " part of Savoy and Piemont," is delineated upon a larger scale, and in a more accurate style, than could have been otherwise accomplished, if I had not been fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of a grand topographical chart of Piemont, which was lately made, under the direction of scientific persons, employed by the Sardinian government. The other, that of the " three valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa," is taken from an old map, drawn by Valerius Crassus, in the year 1640.

I am proud to acknowledge how much I am obliged to my friend, the Rev. John Lamb, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and Master of Corpus Christi College, for facilitating my access to the valuable Vaudois manuscripts, deposited in the University Library, and for furnishing me with the fac-similes that front pages 217, 226, and in the Appendix, p. x.

To the Honourable Mrs. Fortescue I am also more indebted, than I know how to express in adequate terms, for permitting me to embellish my volume with Mr. Nicholson's six lithographic drawings, from her faithful and beautiful sketches of the scenery in the valley of Lucerna. I employed an artist of Turin, to go from that city to the Vaudois villages, for the purpose of taking views both of the landscape and buildings ; but when they were finished and transmitted to me in England, I had the mortification of finding that most of them proved such indifferent performances, that it would be useless to have them engraved. The views of the churches of San Giovanni, Villaro, and La Torre, and of the interior of the latter, drawn on stone by Mr. King, from the originals by the Piemontese draughtsmen, are the only four which I could venture to retain out of the whole collection, and these are merely inserted to give an idea of the construction of the Vaudois churches.

In this dilemma, Mrs. Fortescue most kindly made me an offer of a selection from her valuable portfeuille, and expressed her regret, that from several untoward circumstances, she was not able to make more than five sketches in the Vaudois country. The letter in which this gratifying proffer was communicated, contained an observation, which I cannot but transcribe, as it contains so strong a confirmation of the account which this volume is meant to give of the Vaudois, and the transcendant beauties and sublimities of nature, by which they are environed.

" I do not know any part of the continent that we more lamented not being able to explore than this: the scenery promised a rich harvest for the pencil, and the inhabitants, particularly the pastors, are a most interesting people. I assure you we are not a little pleased, that their sufferings, which they bear with Christian resignation, will now be made known."

This leads me again to advert to the principal object which I have in view in the publication of this work, viz. that of bringing the Vaudois under notice; because it has been the occasion of my hurrying the following pages through the press with greater rapidity, than perhaps is strictly consistent with an author's reputation. It is of importance to the interests of the Vaudois, to bring their claims, and distressed condition, before those, with whom the decision, with regard to the proposed relief, will rest, *at this particular period;* and I have not suffered any thing else to interfere with this paramount consideration.

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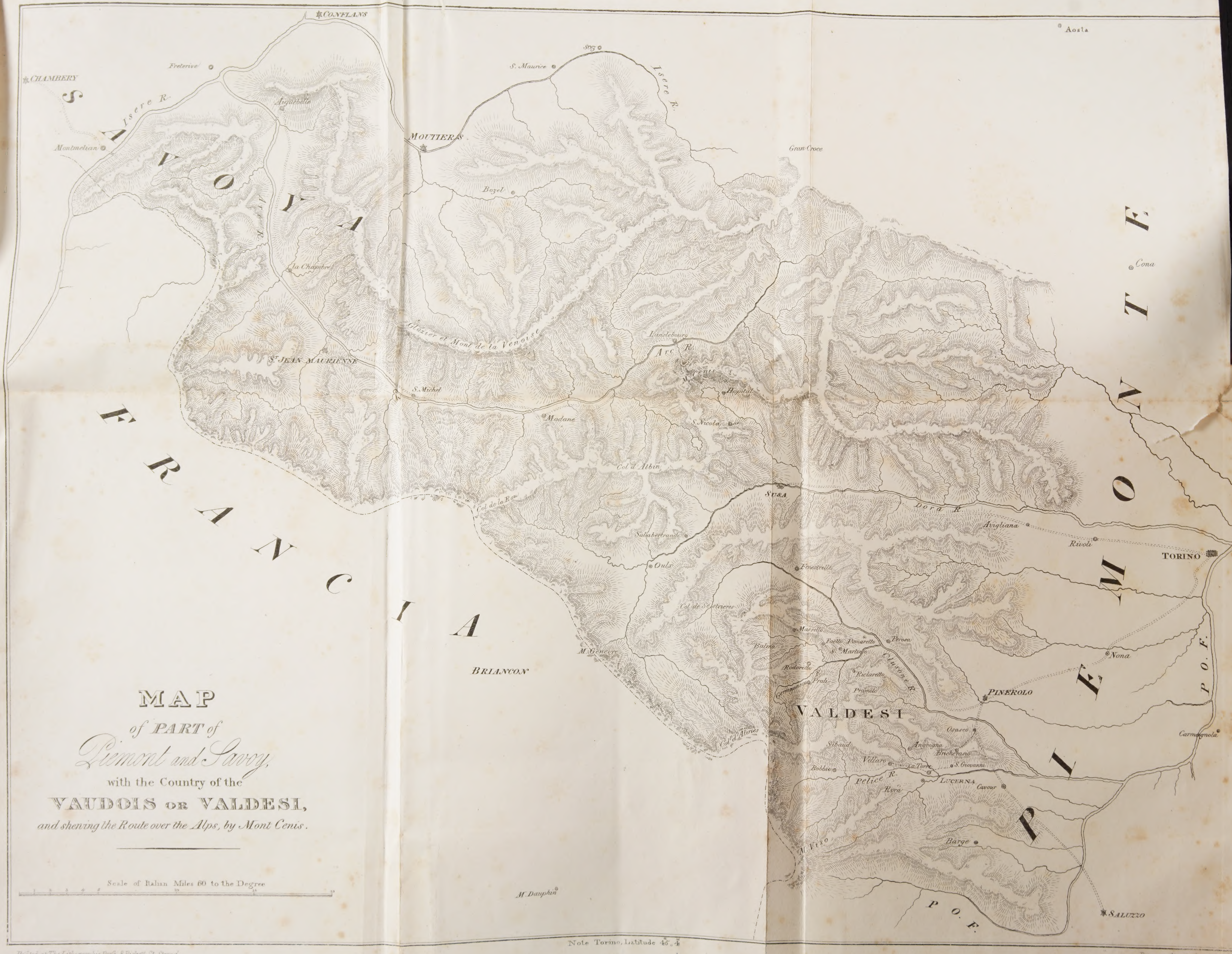
## ERRATA.

Page 23, in the last note, *for* 4, *read* 3.
—— 97, line 10, *for* vesper, *read* vespers.
—— 98, — 17, *for* humble, *read* humbler.
—— 99, — 2, *for* belive, *read* believe.
—— 114, last line, *for* practice, *read* practise.
—— 130, line 14, *for* herd, *read* heard.
—— 168, — 28, *for* javerint, *read* juverint.
—— 204, — 6, *for* Petit du Bourg, *read* Du Petit-Bourg, *et passim* Du Petit-Bourgh, *for* de Petit Bourg.
—— 217, lines 5 and 13, *for* 27th November, *read* 25th November.
—— 217, line 25, *for* Hilaire, *read* Hyllaire.
—— 238, — 1, *for* ligion, *read* religion.
In Appendix, page vi, line 20, *for* Gerderii, *read* Gerdesii.
—— lxxiv, line 17, *for* at, *read* as.
—— cliv, line 1, *for* quid at, *read* quod ad.


CONFLANS
Aosta
Sez
S. Maurice
CHAMBERY
Freterive
Isere R.
Isere R.
Aiguebelle
Montmelian
MOUTIERS
Gran Croce
Bozel
SAVOYA
La Chambre
Arc R.
Cona
Glazier et Mont de la Venoise
Lanslebourg
Arc R.
M. Cenis
S.T JEAN MAURIENNE
S. Michel
Hopital
Modane
S. Nicola
Col d'Albin
FRANCIA
Col de la Rou
SUSA
Dora R.
Avigliana
Rivoli
TORINO
Sallabertrand
Oulx
Fenestrelle
PIEMONTE
Col de Sestrieres
Massello
Perosa
Balma
Faetto
Pomaretto
S. Martino
M. Genevre
Rodoretto
Germanasca R.
Prali
Riclaretto
Clusone R.
Pramolo
Nona
BRIANCON
PINEROLO
P. O. F.
VALDESI
Col d'Abries
Osasco
Carmagnola
Sibaud
Angrogna
Bricherasio
Villaro
La Torre
S. Giovanni
Bobbio
Pelice R.
LUCERNA
Rora
Cavour
M. Viso
Barge
M. Dauphin
P. O. F.
SALUZZO
1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20

# MAP
## of PART of
## Piemont and Savoy,
with the Country of the
## VAUDOIS or VALDESI,
*and shewing the Route over the Alps, by Mont Cenis.*

Scale of Italian Miles 60 to the Degree

Note Torino, Latitude 45° 4′

*Printed at The Lithographic Press. 8 Pickett St. Strand.*

Drawn on Stone by F. F. Baker

# NARRATIVE,

*&c. &c.*

## CHAPTER I.

*Secluded situation of the Vaudois—Derivation of their name—Inducements to make the excursion—Peyrani's letter—Romantic accounts of Waldensian heroism—Passage across the Channel from Dover to Calais—Fog at sea—Dull journey from Calais to Paris—French equestrians and sportsmen—Awkward machinery—Frightful looking crucifix—State of religion in Paris—Chapel of British ambassador—English Liturgy—Sunday evening amusements—Leave Paris—Journey towards the South of France—Forest of Fontainbleau—Nemours—Moonlight scenery—Old châteaus—Sabbath in France—Sabbath day in England—Its effect on the character of the nation—Nevers—Anecdote—Moulins—Inscription in the cathedral—Votive tablets—Sterne—Poor Maria—Village near Moulins—Landscape—Appearance of plenty—Palisse—French traveller—Road from Palisse to Lyons—Lyons—Rousseau—Les Etroits—Library of Lyons—Caligula's edict—Charitable Institutions at Lyons—Hotel Dieu—Veterinary school—Magnificence of Lyons—Alarm of fire at night—Peter Waldo—The reformer of Lyons—Peter Waldo—Waldo's translation of the Scriptures—Waldo persecuted—Flies from Lyons—Death of Waldo—Waldo, not the founder of the Waldensian church—Antiquity of the Vaudois—Rainerus, the inquisitor—The Vaudois reformers anterior to those of Lyons—Attend Protestant chapel—Extempore preaching—Communion service in Protestant chapel—Organ—Sacred music.*

AMIDST the wildest and most secluded of those Alpine fastnesses, which lie between the Clusone and the Pelice, two mountain torrents that fall into the river Po, there is a small community of hardy and resolute men, who have continued to maintain their religious independence against the supremacy of the Roman Church for more than a thousand years. Subjects of the present King of Sardinia, and of the ancient Dukes of Piemont and Savoy, and inhabitants of that part of the Province of Pinerolo, which is nearest to the frontiers of France, they do not entirely assimilate either with the Italians or the French, in manners, customs, religion, or language. Their situation in the heart of the valleys, which extend along the eastern foot of the Cottian Alps, between Mount Viso and the Col de Sestrieres, first gave them the name of Vallenses, Waldenses, or Vaudois[a], a name which has since been employed to distinguish them as a reformed and episcopal Church.

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[a] " Les premiers qui nommoient les Vallées *Vaux,* en nommoient les habitans *Vaudois,* n'entendans purement par le nom de *Vaudois* que les habitans des *Vaux,* comme les autres les appelloient Valdesi ou Valdenses, ayant égard au mot de *Val,* ou même, si vous voulez, au mots Latin et Italien de *Vallis* ou *Valle:* comme en effét le nom de *Valdesi* en Italien, et de *Valdenses* en Latin, ne leur a été donné que de ceux qui parloient ces langues, au lieu que parmi eux ils se nommoient *Vaudés* en leur langue, ou *Vaudois* par ceux qui vouloient mieux parler François, mais toûjours soit *Vaudés,* soit Vaudois du nom de *Vaux,* par ce qu'ils habitoient les Vaux, à raison de quoy les anciens Latins les nommoient *Vallenses,* et quelques fois comme Thuanus, *Convallenses,* eû égard à l'assemblage de ces Vallées.—Porquoy non donc les *Vaudés* ou *Vaudois* de leur *Vaux,* comme *Montagnards* de leur *Montagnes,* et *Alpinois* de leur Alpes, et *Cisalpins, Transalpins,* ou *Inalpins,* selon qu'ils demeurent deçà, de la, ou dans les Alpes? D'où il soit arrivè en suite que ce nom de *Vaudois* ait passé pour le nom de leur Religion, ou comme il plait à Messieurs de Rome, pour une sect, certainement il n'est guères mal-aisé de le diviner, puisque c'est une methode dont les exemples sont sans nombre, d'entendre par le nom des habitans d'un lieu, la Religion qu'ils professent.—Generalment châcun entend par un Albigeois une personne qui suit la doctrine que les Vaudois des Vallées introduiserent en Albi de Languedoc. De cette même façon des que les habitans des Vaux, se sont ouvertement opposés au Pape, parler d'un Vaudois ou parler d'un heretique, a toûjours été la méme chose chez Messieurs de Rome."—LEGER, p. 17.

There are few spots which present more attractions to the eye or to the imagination than these picturesque retreats of the Vaudois, which I was induced to visit by one of those accidental circumstances, to which we sometimes owe the most agreeable events of our life.

I happened to attend a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on the day when a very affecting letter[b] was read to the Board by the Rev. Dr. Gaskin, the late Secretary, which was signed "Ferdinand Peyrani, Minister of Pramol," and requested that some aid might be sent in books or money to the ancient protestant congregation in the mountains of Piemont, who were struggling hard against poverty and oppression. Of these Vaudois at the time I had but an imperfect knowledge, but from the moment my attention was thus directed to the subject, it took complete possession of me; and the books, to which I now applied for farther information, confirmed me in my purpose of visiting this people in their native valleys.

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[b] "A communication has likewise been received from M. Peyrani, one of the Pastors of the ancient Protestant Church of the Waldenses. He states that the numbers who now remain in the valleys of Piemont amount to 18,000; that they are divided into thirteen parishes, with an equal number of pastors, and are the subjects of their lawful sovereign the King of Sardinia. He enters at some length into a description of their past and present state, and represents the difficulties which they have now to encounter as very serious. The stipends of the Clergy are low; provisions are at a high price; and they have no private fortunes. Some of them are reduced to the greatest distress, and the expence of bringing up their children to succeed them in the ministry is greater than they are able to bear. Since peace has been restored on the Continent, they have also been exposed to fresh injuries from the Roman Catholics. The principal object, however, of M. Peyrani was to request the assistance of the Society in furnishing books for their churches.

"It was resolved, in consequence of this letter, that the sum of forty pounds should be granted to M. Peyrani, and be laid out partly in the French works on the Society's list, and partly in the purchase of copies of a book of Psalms and Hymns, which is in use among the Vaudois, and of which the Society's correspondent stated them to be particularly in want. The resolution was communicated to M. Peyrani; and in acknowledging the receipt of the Secretary's letter, and the kindness of the Society, he takes occasion to regret the misfortunes which have deprived the Waldensian Church of the benefit of an episcopal government." See Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, p. 115, for the year 1820.

Some of the narratives that I read seemed to give quite a romantic, and even fabulous air, to the conflicts which this little community (never exceeding twenty thousand men) had the courage to hold with their powerful neighbours; and my expectations were raised by several of the descriptions to see a region which would appear more like fairy land, than the theatre of real achievements. Every vale and glen is represented in these relations as sacred ground, from having been ennobled by some exploit in defence of liberty or religion, or consecrated to the memory of a hero who had bled, or a martyr who had suffered there. One writer calls the valleys of these Vaudois, " an holy asylum which God has wonderfully and even miraculously fortified[c];" and a popish author, who wrote against the Vaudois, bears this remarkable testimony to their successful resistance of aggression. " Toutes sortes de gens en divers temps, par un très-grand effort, ont en vain essayé de les arracher, car contre l'opinion de tout le monde ils sont toûjours demeurez vanqueurs, et du tout invincible[d]." But highly coloured as such accounts may be thought to be, an investigation into the history of these mountaineers, and a survey of their country, will clearly prove, that neither the extraordinary events in the one, nor the beauty or sublimity of the other, have been exaggerated.

It was on the 11th of December, 1822, that I crossed the Channel from Dover to Calais, on my way to Piemont, in search

[c] Leger.

[d] Claude Seyssel.

of these secluded valleys and their patriarchal inhabitants. Three young men, Mr. Colville Coverley Jackson, Mr. John Saville Hallifax, and Mr. Robert Dampier Hallifax, were the companions of my journey; and we flattered ourselves that the mildness with which the month had set in, promised a favourable season for the excursion. It was our intention to make the tour of Italy after our visit to the Vaudois, and that we might have the whole year before us, we improvidently made our arrangements so as to begin where, with better judgment, we should have ended; but there are so many things which occur to control the movements of the traveller, that it is in vain to argue upon regrets when the journey is concluded. Mountain scenery will no doubt be seen to most advantage in the summer; but if those, who have a few months only at their disposal, are resolved to make the most of that time, they must regulate their movements less by choice than necessity.

The deceitfulness of a winter's sun was never felt more truly than on the day we sailed for the coast of France. It was a clear, bright, and warm morning when we left Dover: the vessel made her way calmly, yet rapidly, through the waves, and in three hours we expected to land on the opposite shores; but in mid-channel the atmosphere began to thicken, and at half past one a dense fog came on. We knew that we were nearing Calais; but, instead of the cheerful salutations of the French boatmen, we had the melancholy notes of the leads-man, and the portentous warning of quarter-less-three, proclaimed the necessity of keeping off the land, lest we should get a-ground upon the sand-banks. Not an object could be seen from the packet, but the faint sounds of a bell, which were borne on the air from one of the churches in the town, gave us notice to cast anchor, and to wait till it should clear up. It was evening before we landed. A cold frost commenced at night; and, in a thick mist, we started for Paris the next morning.

Our more experienced travellers, however, comforted us with the assurance that there was not much beauty of scenery between Calais and Paris, and that we had now proof positive that fogs and vapours were not confined to England. The same weather continued nearly all the way to the capital; great part of the journey was performed at night, and we arrived at Meurice's hotel, having seen but little, and consequently much disposed to criticise. It is, besides, at all times difficult to divest ourselves of the prejudices arising from the habits of years; and, I must frankly confess, that in our first view of things, we were inclined to look at them only in comparison with the superiority we had left behind in England. Of course there was no lack of objects for spleen to feed upon; for where indeed would not spleen find something to gratify its appetite. It is, in one respect, like Shakspeare's jealousy, and may be said to make the meat it feeds on. The French equestrians and sportsmen were peculiarly ridiculous to untravelled Englishmen; the former on sorry beasts, in a stiff jog trot, with large ill-made saddles, and trappings of the last century; the latter, with curs for pointers, and old muskets for fowling-pieces, in pursuit of blackbirds and green-finches, objects worthy of such an equipment.

Then, too, the awkward and inconvenient vehicles, from the diligence to the travelling carriages, and the coarse harness and rope traces of the horses, contrasted with the gay attire of some of the postillions, were also subjects of derision; and not less so the imperfect condition of machinery in general. But, viewed in connexion with the advancement of the mind, there were other things which we noticed with feelings very different to those of merriment. For example, the hideous looking crucifixes, erected at intervals on the road-side, which seem more like a mockery, than a record, of the most important event in Christian history. Can a clumsy representation of our Lord's sufferings on the cross, with an image, whose features are frightfully distorted, surrounded with all the implements that are supposed to have been used at the crucifixion, and the whole carved in petty detail, and presenting a combination of objects which is any thing but reverend;—can such a sight raise the thoughts from earth to heaven?

A Sunday in Paris, (December 15) with the sight of open shops, and hundreds of busy tradesmen, did not help to satisfy my mind as to the efficacy of what the Romanists consider the external helps and adjuncts of religion. Processions of priests, and an ostentatious display of popish emblems, are again to be seen in the metropolis of France; but the spirit of devotion does not seem to be much moved by these outward signs of it. Considering, however, what this country was a few years back, we have cause to congratulate her even upon the slightest symptoms of religious observances. There is a tale in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, where it is told, that the holy word, Alla, God, accidentally pronounced, broke the enchantment over a whole city of idolaters, and restored its inhabitants, who had been changed into stone, to their human form. The transformation of hearts of stone to hearts of flesh, may not be far distant even in France.

It was delightful to turn out of streets, where the Sabbath presents no appearance of being a day of rest or holiness, into the court-yard of the British Ambassador, and to find our way into his chapel; for there, at least, there was some evidence that a reverential esteem of things sacred was not quite effaced from every heart in this gay and noisy capital. The congregation consisted of about six hundred; and a devout air prevailed among all present. It is not easy to believe, that when persons are in a strange land, they can go into a place of worship, where the language of prayer and praise is heard in the well-known terms of our beautiful Liturgy, without being seriously affected. Many of those who were assembled upon this occasion, were absentees from their native soil, whom illness, or afflicting events, had sent abroad in search of health, or composure of mind. Others had left behind them objects most dear to their affections, and had brought away regrets, which neither amusements, nor society, nor change of scene, nor time itself, could soften. To each of these the formulary of our Church spoke something so applicable to their immediate condition, that many of the passages might almost appear to have been composed for their particular cases, and could not have been heard with indifference.

But what is a congregation of six hundred out of the thousands of English who flock to Paris. " Were there not ten cleansed, but where are the nine ?" There is reason to fear that the contagion spreads, and that Parisian levity of manners infects more of our countrymen than we are willing to allow. I was invited to an evening party by an English family ; and, after the chapel scene, I did not expect to find a Sunday evening trifled away, or rather outraged, by cards and dancing, high stakes, and waltzing ; but it was so, and the few French who were present were suffered to be the pitch-pipes of the coterie, and to regulate the amusements of the closing hours of a Sabbath day !

Our stay in Paris was but very short, and, during the greater part of the time, I was confined to my room with a cold upon my lungs. The weather was intolerable. Fortunately, on the first day of our departure for the South, (the 21st of December) we had a clear bright sky to add to the interest of a journey perfectly new to us. The sun shone brilliantly for several hours, and the glittering of his rays on the frozen waters of the streams and canals, imparted a degree of cheerfulness to the landscape, which scarcely allowed us to regret that we were travelling in the winter. We entered the forest of Fontainbleau at twilight, and the increasing shades of the evening fell timely enough to throw a sombre colouring over every object, which accorded well with the gloomy character of the scenery. The forest of Fontainbleau possesses all the romantic and poetical features of a forest: the picturesque, the dreary, the solitary, and the magnificent. Its dismal thickets, masses of rock and stunted shrubs, intermixed with venerable and branching timber trees, present a scene altogether of uncommon grandeur.

Without making any stop in the town, we journeyed through the night; and just as we left Nemours, the moon shone forth in all her splendour, and upon a scene that cannot be described without losing some portion of its beauty. A broad stream runs for several miles to the right of the road, and a ridge of hills enclose it on the left, whose fantastically-shaped rocks and crags assumed a variety of forms, as the moon-beams played among them. The châteaus which we passed looked as if they had been standing for centuries; and as we gazed at some of their antiquated roofs and gables, we amused ourselves with the idea, that the flower of the ages that are gone, the Chevalier Bayard, or Henri le Grand himself, might have taken up his abode in these habitations of olden times.

Early in the morning of the 22d, we descended the steep declivity that leads to Briare; and here what Reichard calls "a new soil, and a new sky," really burst upon our sight. A boldly expanding country, abounding in vineyards, was spread before us, while the Loire rolled along with a magnificence that it can have in the wintry season only, and carried with it huge masses of ice that reflected a thousand colours under the rising sun. In summer, the volume of its waters is considerably diminished, and in many places it is then a mere current, bordered by a bed of sand.

At Pouilly, a town which is said to have 2500 inhabitants, though it is no easy matter to determine how the few houses which it contains can find room for them, we had an opportunity of observing the influence of the Sabbath upon the rustics of France. They appeared to be absolutely indifferent to the holiness of the day: they were buying and selling, treating and exchanging, and pursuing their several occupations. Strings of carts, herds of swine, and droves of cattle, were passing and repassing as if it were a market day. Even the few females whom we saw directing their steps to church, had none of that decent appearance, and Sabbath-day preparation, which we observe in England. How the inseparable connexion between revealed religion and human happiness, displays itself at every view! We are commanded to sanctify the Sabbath; but "the Sabbath was made for man;" that is, it is subordinate to, and intended for his good. Its proper observance imparts enjoyment and gladness of heart, as well as seriousness to the disposition; and there can be no doubt that the solemnity, the decency, the cheerfulness, and the independent leisure of an English Sabbath, contribute largely to form the steady and manly character of the nation. When we neglect this day as much as our Roman Catholic neighbours do, we shall probably become like most of them, degraded in condition, as well as debased in sentiment and principle: and those who would introduce continental usages and amusements, to the interruption of our present quiet mode of spending the Sunday, are either inimical or indifferent to that spirit of rational independence, which prevails among the midling and lower orders of the community; or they do not know upon what the national character depends.

In our way through Nevers we met with a much more striking instance of what has been called " interesting confidence," and " affecting sensibility," than that of throwing fruit or flowers into a travelling carriage as it rolls along the road: an experiment in which there may be as much policy as simplicity, for it is almost sure of making a purchaser. It was dusk when we entered Nevers, but girls of all ages followed our vehicle; and when it stopped, they thrust into it baskets of bead necklaces and bracelets, beautifully worked. Handsome features do not distinguish the females of the Nivernois, but there was light enough to perceive that one of these girls had the sweetest expression in her face that can be imagined. It was one of those lovely countenances, so exquisitely indicative of amiability and goodness, as to rivet the attention, and to force you to become a convert to Lavater. We read the character of the wearer at a glance; and a little incident gave manifest proof that the favorable impression was not raised without reason. One of her companions, whilst importuning us to buy her trinkets, spoke of a sick and infirm mother, upon which this interesting girl withdrew her own basket, and intimated that the claims of the other were more urgent. Who could refuse to purchase a few articles of both under such an appeal?

We stopped at Moulins for one day. In the church of Notre Dame there is a tomb which attracted our attention. It represents a body in a state of corruption, sculptured with hideous fidelity. Under it is the following inscription, dated 1557.

> Olim. formoso. fueram. qui. corpore. putri.
> Nunc. sum. Tu. simili. corpore. Lector. eris.

" My body, which was once beautiful, is now in a state of putrefaction.
Reader, yours will be the same."

One person only was in the church, and that a middle-aged woman. She was reading her missal before a shrine with such earnestness, as not to be disturbed by, or take the slightest notice of, the strangers whose curiosity had drawn them to the scene of her devotion.

It was here, that for the first time, I noticed a vestige of the old Pagan custom of hanging up a votive tablet in a temple after some signal preservation. The little side chapels and shrines were decorated with small images of saints, wreaths and chaplets of flowers, and tinsel hearts. There were also several painted representations of cures and deliverances ascribed to the Virgin, or to the interposition of patron saints. Some were such as might excite a smile, either by their performance or superstitious tendency; but one was extremely affecting. It was a small picture, not badly executed, representing an infant in its cradle, and at the point of death; its parents kneeling by it, and praying for its recovery: the child was restored, and this was the memorial of their gratitude. We could have wished that the praise had been given where alone it was due; but even though it was the votive offering of a superstitious adoration of saints, it was superstition too pious and amiable to be sneered at.

Moulins has not much to amuse a stranger; and to have an object for a walk, it was proposed to go in search of the spot which Sterne has assigned as the scene of his interview with poor Maria. There are so many localities in Sterne's tale of Maria, that my young companions thought it a fair field of research, and away we went to follow him through his descriptions. "When we had got within half a league of Moulins," says the story, which every body remembers, "at a little opening in the road leading to a thicket, I discovered poor Maria sitting under a poplar,—a small brook ran at the foot of the tree." The distance from Moulins, the opening in the road, the thicket and the brook, were so many realities it was thought, even if there were no love-lorn and melancholy Maria, to render this classic ground; and at about two miles from Moulins, we reached a spot which answered to the description plainly enough. Several aged poplars shaded the road, a small stream crossed it, and pursued its course through ground, which had evidently been once a thicket. It was now cleared, for the most part, of its bushes and brambles; but a few remain, and with them an abundance of those old pollards, which are generally allowed to stand, and to point out a spot which was once consecrated to the Dryads. At the foot of one old tree, the brook ran so closely, that we should have gone away satisfied that this was the very tree, and perhaps we should have searched its bark to find if the names of Maria and Sterne were cut upon it, if it had not unfortunately been an *elm* instead of a *poplar*.

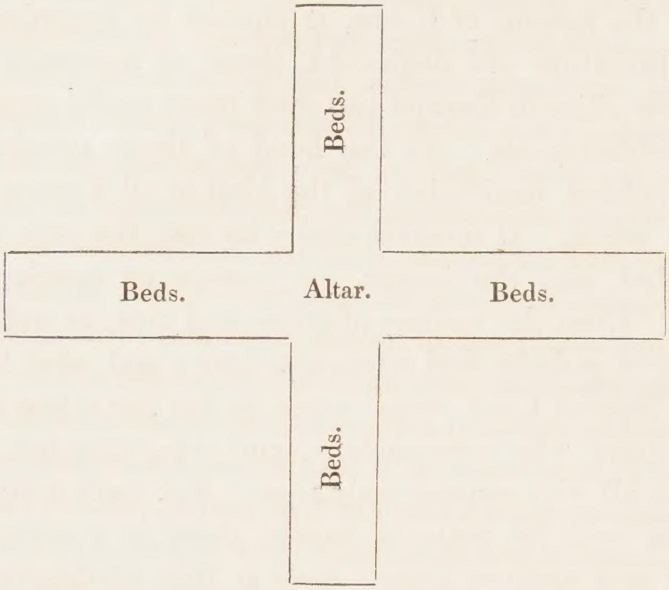
We did not return to Moulins by the high way, but struck into a cross road, which took us through a scene that amply compensated for the fatigue of a ramble of several hours. It led to a green lane, bordered on each side by some of those pretty little enclosures of corn and meadow land, which are much less common in France than in England. And soon afterwards we came to a village, where every cottage had its own orchard or vineyard: the vines, unlike those low stunted plants, which render most of the vineyards in France, Swisserland, and Germany, so uninteresting to the eye, were trained to fruit trees, that the fruit and foliage might fall in those clusters and festoons, which add so much to the scenery in Italy. Each cottage had also its scores of poultry before the door,—fowls, turkeys, and geese; and adjoining to most of the farm-houses, were large stacks of every kind of corn. This aspect of plenty struck me the more forcibly, from my having observed this same season a very different appearance in England, where few corn-stacks were standing, the pressure of the times having unhappily obliged most of the farmers to thresh out the greater part of their crop as quickly as they could, to carry the grain to market for an immediate supply of money.

We were at Palisse on Christmas day, a dull country town, which would have left nothing in our recollection, if the festival of our Lord's nativity had not been celebrated there with all the solemnity which Popish rites can put forth, even in such a place, upon such an occasion. A military band, and a large body of conscripts, who were marching through the town, added to the gaiety of the day. We had some conversation with two agreeable young Frenchmen at Palisse, from whom we endeavoured to gain some information as to our route; but although one of them had been in Italy, and had made some stay in Turin, he knew nothing of the Protestant valleys of Piemont. What surprised us still more was, that he had been educated in the Polytecnic school at Paris, talked of algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, and quoted Virgil and Horace, but yet appeared to be lost when we spoke of Hannibal's passage over the Alps. I question very much if he recollected any part of the Carthaginian general's history, or had ever heard of his march along the banks of the Rhone, although he was a native of Vienne. The other young man had just purchased his discharge from a dragoon regiment, in which he had served as a private. It cost him 1800 francs, or about 70*l.* to procure a substitute.

After leaving Palisse, on our road to Lyons, we began to have some fine views of the mountains of Auvergne, and the bridge which is thrown across a torrent, at the distance of about six miles from Palisse, was the most magnificent object we had seen since we left Paris. If the season had been favourable, we should have enjoyed the first distinct view of the Alps from the heights above Lyons; but, unluckily, the weather was so thick, that during the four days we remained in that city, where we arrived on the 26th of December, we saw nothing of the fine prospects, which are so much its boast. Lyons is said to have been founded by Lucius Munatius Plancus, and they give a curious derivation of its name: Lucii Dunum, Luc-dunum, Lugdunum, Lyons. The etymology of mount Fourvieres is equally forced, that it may have the honour of a Roman origin: Forum vetus, Forum-viel, Fort-viel, Four-vieres. The tower upon its summit commands, upon a clear day, as fine a panoramic view as can be conceived; but we were obliged to be satisfied with being told this was the case, and to confine our attention to what is contained within the city. Rousseau, who was always extravagant, (but perhaps less so in this instance than in many others,) was such an enthusiastic admirer of some of the environs of Lyons, that he professes to have passed a whole night on the banks of the Saone, at a spot called "Les Etroits," and gives the following description of his midnight ramble. "The evening was serene, the air was fresh without being too cold; the setting sun had left some crimson clouds, whose reflexion added a rosy tint to the waters below, and the trees upon the terrace were full of nightingales, who were singing to each other. I proceeded in a sort of ecstacy; and, surrendering up my whole soul, and every sense, to the enjoyment of the scenery, I pursued my walk far into the night without experiencing the least fatigue. At last I lay down in voluptuous repose, in a sort of grotto, upon the terrace. The trees above were the canopy of my bed, a nightingale was directly above me; I fell asleep in the middle of his song. My slumber was delightful, and my waking was still more so. It was a brilliant morning. My opening eyes were fixed now upon the waters, and then upon the green verdure and the lovely landscape." The same writer, in his endeavours to describe the munificent affluence of the merchants of Lyons, has condescended to borrow a thought from the volume, whose creed he affected to hold in contempt. "Et son peuple opulent semble un peuple de rois."—"The crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth." Isaiah xxiii. 8.

The opulence and munificence of the merchants of this city may still be the same; but to judge from our visit to the public library, their literary taste must be on the decline. It is a fine building, and is said to contain 100,000 volumes; but it does not appear that they are frequently visited; and we indeed did not meet with a single student: nor was there any accommodation for visitors, either chairs, fire, pens, ink, or paper: a reproach, by the bye, from which certain great libraries in our own country are not more exempt than that of which I am complaining. It seemed as if this former seat of the Muses was one of the most deserted places in the world, and that the edict of Caligula had been again proclaimed, who is said to have established a lyceum of elocution at Lugdunum, and to have enacted that if any body should produce a bad composition, he should be compelled to efface the writing with his tongue, that is, to lick it out, or be thrown into the Rhone. The filth which was accumulated at the entrance of the library, was even more appalling than the air of desertion which reigned within. Nuisance of every sort lay on the stairs, and in the corridor. After witnessing such proofs of the estimation in which the Lyonese held their public library, we were not a little amused with the following sentimental and philosophical description, which a French guide book gives of the terrace leading out of the library. "Une grande terrasse de soixante dix pas de longueur joint la grande salle de la bibliothêque, et procure a l'homme studieux la faculté de se promener, de respirer un air pur, de mediter tranquillement sur l'objet de ses travaux, ou de s'entretenir avec un ami sur ce qui peut les perfectioner et en assurer le succès."

But, for the honour of Lyons, it should be recorded, that if works of literature are neglected, those of humanity are not; and that few cities in Europe can shew more useful or more charitable establishments. At the head of these stands L'Hotel Dieu, the noblest institution of the kind in all France, perhaps in all the world. It receives under its care the sick, the lame, the wounded, and the insane, *les femmes en couche,* and the foundling. Even the victims of crime and vice, as well as those of accident or malady, find admission here; and, after the example of our blessed Lord, who, when he fed the seven thousand, did not enquire who were sinners, and who were not, its doors are open to all who require assistance. For each description of sufferers, as well for male as female, there is a separate compartment: and upon so large a scale is this establishment, that four thousand five hundred unfortunates may be relieved at the same time. It is supported in part by settled funds, and in part by voluntary contributions. I cannot describe the effect which the spacious rooms, the airy halls, and the ample provision for the comfort and convalescence, as well as the cure of the patients, had upon my mind. All the beds are furnished with iron posts and frames, and nothing can exceed the cleanliness, the regularity, and the good and tender management, which prevail in this glorious institution. Among other things, it is so arranged, that the position of the altar, and the space allotted for the daily administration of divine service, enable every person in the hospital, whether in his bed or not, to hear the voice of the officiating minister, the whole building being in the form of a cross, and the chapel in the centre, thus:



Among other excellent institutions at Lyons, I was much interested by that of the Veterinary School. In England, much as the breed of horses is cultivated, and the animal itself valued and petted, the profession of veterinary surgeon is by no means encouraged as it should be; but here the hippiatrique art is so patronized, that "L'ecôle Royale Vetérinaire" has its own pharmacy, its cabinet of natural history, its botanical garden, its spacious laboratory, and every thing else which is necessary for the improvement of the student.

There are few cities in France to be compared with Lyons, either in situation, antiquities, or splendour; but it is too much of a manufacturing and trading town; the prejudices of its inhabitants against the English are too deep-rooted, and its revolutionary atrocities are too recent, to make it a desirable residence for a stranger. Its two magnificent rivers, the Rhone and the Saone, its hill-begirt site, its charming promenades, its museum, and its antique-looking edifices, are noble objects; but who would willingly remain long in a place where he knows that a strong national antipathy prevails against him? We were disturbed at midnight by alarming cries of fire: bells sounded, drums beat, and voices called loudly for assistance. We rose from our beds, and hastened to the spot, where we lent our aid in passing the hand buckets from the Rhone to the burning houses. When we thought the fire was nearly extinguished, and that we had performed our part in the labour, we endeavoured to return to our hotel, but for a length of time the soldiers on duty would not permit us to depart, but obliged us to continue the exercise, very much to the delight of the mob, who were pleased to see the predicament in which four Englishmen had placed themselves. The Gazette of Lyons afterwards did us the honour to mention our names, and to talk of the services we had rendered upon the occasion.

One of the objects of my stay at Lyons was connected with the history of the extraordinary people, who will form the principal subject of this volume. I was anxious to learn whether there were still existing any remains of the sect of Peter Waldo, who has often been mistaken as the founder of the Vaudois Church; whereas, in fact, he derived his doctrine from it [e]. There have been so many religious changes in the South of France, and the revolutionary spirit was so active and successful in this city, that it is difficult to prove that any opinions have been steadily maintained from one age to another. At all events the Protestants here have no pretensions whatever to consider themselves upon a footing with the Vaudois, either in antiquity, perseverance, sound doctrine, or simplicity of life and manners.

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[e] "Ce qui a donné juste sujet au grand et judicieux de Beze de nous assurer, dans son livre des Hommes Illustres, pag. 985, que bien soin que les Vaudois des Vallées eussent pris leur nom de *Valdo* de Lyon, que luy tout au contraire a premièrement été nommé *Valdo*, parce qu'il avoit receu la Doctrine des Vaudois."—LEGER, p. 16.

The reformer of Lyons, Peter Waldo, has acquired a degree of celebrity, to which, whatever were his real merits, he certainly had no claim. As the great patron and supporter of a sect who boldly resisted the corrupt innovations of the Church of Rome, he demands our admiration; but nothing can be collected from his history, which could warrant our ascribing to him the superior character of the founder of a Protestant Church. Happily for the cause of truth, the courage, zeal, and piety of Waldo were most conspicuous at a period when the Papal hierarchy began to put its threats in execution against all who questioned its infallibility. But even these great qualities would not have been sufficient to raise the spirits of the reformers of the twelfth century, if the means of this great and good man had not been equal to his strength of mind. His extensive mercantile engagements gave him opportunities of conversing with strangers, and of learning what were the general sentiments upon those practices of idolatry, which accompanied the doctrine of transubstantion; and his riches and influence enabled him to assert his own opinions the more boldly, and to countenance those who were friends to the same doctrines. It was about the year 1160 that Waldo first began to take a decided part with those, who refused submission to the continued encroachments of the See of Rome. All his wealth was employed in their service; and at length he resorted to a measure which put the seal upon their undertaking, that of diffusing the Scriptures [f] among his countrymen in their own tongue. This, in my opinion, is the greatest praise of Peter of Lyons. Latin had, for several centuries, continued to be the language of the southern part of Christendom. The Bible, and books of devotion, were all written in this language; and when it ceased to be spoken in its purity, there was no provision for those who could not understand it. Waldo's opulence, and perhaps his learning, gave him the power of having translations of the Scripture executed and distributed in the vulgar tongue, and of dispersing also such collections of passages from the ancient fathers as accorded with his own doctrines. He also maintained, at his own expence, several persons, who were employed to recite and expound these translations to the people; and hence, most probably, proceeded the name of the disciples of Waldo, and the opinion that he was the preacher and apostle of a new faith: an opinion which the Roman Catholics were glad to encourage; for it has ever been their object to represent the Waldenses as a sect of late date, and to vindicate the antiquity and universal recognition of their own dogmas.

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[f] It must not be understood that Waldo made a complete translation of the Holy Scriptures, *parts* only of the sacred volume were rendered into French upon this occasion. The first *entire Bible* in the French language was translated and printed by Robert Olivetan, a native of the Valleys, at Neufchatel, in the year 1535 or 1537. Beza, as quoted by Leger, speaking of this, says, "Il faut avouer que c'est par le moyen des Vaudois des Vallees, que la France a aujourdhuy la Bible en son language."

The enemies of Popery, being thus provided with copies of the Scriptures in their own tongue, were encouraged to declare themselves with the greater confidence, because they were now able to explain to the people that they were not advancing doctrines of their own, but a pure faith, as it really existed in the Bible. They were able to argue effectually, that the tenets of their adversaries were in direct opposition to the divine oracles; and they boldly defied the Papists to justify their practices by any reference to the canons of the New Testament. As long as Waldo and his friends confined themselves to the grounds which had already been taken up, the hierarchy of Rome suspended its thunders; but as soon as they employed that invincible engine, the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, they were immediately anathematized and excommunicated. For three years after his first condemnation by the Archbishop of Lyons, which took place in 1172, Waldo contrived to remain concealed in the city or its environs; but at length Pope Alexander the Third fulminated his threats and terrors so effectually against all, who should dare to hold the slightest communication with the reformer, that, for his friends' sake, he fled from Lyons, and became a wanderer for the rest of his life. At first he took refuge in Dauphiné, with an intention possibly of finding his way to the secluded valleys of Pragela, or Angrogna, among the Vaudois Protestants of Piemont. But the persecution was too fierce on this side of France, and he was obliged to make his escape towards the western provinces. For a short time he was sheltered in Picardy; but there was no resting-place in the dominions of Philip Augustus for any of his subjects, who presumed to question the papal prerogative. Germany was his next asylum; and it is supposed that he finally escaped into Bohemia, and there died previous to the year 1179. Such are the outlines of Waldo's history; from no part of which can it be gathered, or even presumed, that the Protestant Church of Piemont is to ascribe its origin to him. We can find no trace of him whatever in Italy; and while his name never occurs prior to the year 1160, we can adduce incontrovertible evidence that the Vaudois had existence as a church, and were recorded as separatists from Rome, long before that period.

In the library of the University of Cambridge there is an old manuscript[g] of the date 1100, which speaks of the Vaudois by name. There is also another at Cambridge, dated 1120, forty years anterior to any mention of Waldo, containing several sermons of the pastors of the Vaudois, or Valdenses of the Alpine valleys, and a treatise on Antichrist, in which there is the following passage :—" These things are a cloak, in which Antichrist hides his wickedness, that he may not be rejected as a pagan. Knowing these things, *we depart from Antichrist,* according to express scriptural directions[h]."

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[g] See Appendix, No. 2.

[h] Rainerus, the inquisitor of the middle of the thirteenth century, whose business it was to ascertain and report the origin of the opinions of the heretics of Lyons, is so far from attributing their rise to Peter Waldo, that he declares the heresy to be of long establishment, and to have taken deep root.

"The heresy of the Vaudois, or poor people of Lyons, is of great antiquity. Among all sects that either are, or have been, there is none more dangerous to the church, than that of the Leonists, and that for three reasons: the first is, because it is the sect of the longest standing of any; for some say that it hath been continued down ever since the time of Pope Sylvester; and others, ever since that of the Apostles. The second is, because it is the most general of all sects; for scarcely is there any country to be found where this sect hath not spread itself. And the third, because it has the greatest appearance of piety; because, in the sight of all, these men are just and honest in their transactions, believe of God what ought to be believed, receive all the articles of the Apostles' creed, and only profess to hate the Church of Rome."

The opinion of Seyssel, Archbishop of Turin, in his book dated 1547, is equally against the notion of Waldo's being the founder of the sect; and even goes to attach a different origin to the Leonists, or Lyonists, themselves. "La sect des Vaudois a pris e son commencement d'un certain Leon, homme très-religieux du temps de Constantin le Grand, qui ayant detesté l'avarice de Silvestre," &c. &c.

Another book of the date of 1608, printed at Paris with the approbation of the clergy, contains the answer of the theologian Dungald *, to the Treatise of Claude, Bishop of Turin, in the ninth century, wherein he charges Claude with having occasioned the separation and apostasy of his flock from the Church of Rome. Now the inhabitants of the three Valleys were then part of his flock, and are the only people who have persevered from that early date in their separation from the Roman See †.

I trust that while I am upon the subject of Lyons, I have said enough to prove, that although the churches of the Vaudois in Piemont may have reason to thank Peter Waldo for the first translation of part of the Scriptures into the vulgar

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* Dungald wrote about 828. This book is entitled "Liber responsionum adversus Claudii Taurinensis sententias." See Appendix, No. 3.

† See Appendix, No. 4. Allix endeavours to shew that the churches of the north of Italy were all independent of Rome at this period.

There is a numerous protestant congregation at Lyons; but it is by no means so distinct a community as that which drew my attention to the valleys on the other side of the Alps. The Protestants are intermixed with other Lyonese families, occupy no separate district, and have not that ecclesiastical discipline to keep them together as effectually, as the church government and pastoral authority of the Vaudois.

It was on the last Sunday of the year 1822, a sacrament day, that I attended service at the chapel, which was originally the "Loge du Change," and still exhibits its former inscription, "*Virtute duce, comite fortunâ.*" Many of the edifices in Lyons have changed their destination, and this among the rest. The Palais des Arts, was an abbey belonging to the Benedictines; the Theâtre des Celestins, was an abbey of the Celestines; most of the barracks were monasteries; and the House of Correction was anciently occupied by the Jesuits.

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tongue, and for spreading their doctrines, he has not the least claim to be considered as their founder.

An additional and very strong argument might be drawn from a comparison between the irregularity of Waldo's followers, and the scrupulous adherence to the forms of church government, which has always distinguished the Vaudois. Waldo himself is acknowledged by his historians to have assumed the pastoral functions and character, and to have persuaded others to do the same. His persecutions, and the extraordinary crisis at which he began to preach, and to expose the errors of the Church of Rome, and the necessity of his taking upon himself the office, which he could not regularly obtain by the imposition of hands, has justified him, according to the opinion of most persons, in this assumption. An ecclesiastical writer has made a very judicious observation upon Waldo's conduct as a self-ordained pastor. "Let not such extraordinary cases give a sanction to many self-created teachers, who disturb rather than strengthen the hands of faithful pastors, by their irregular proceedings." But the Vaudois, whose zeal has always been tempered by discretion, have never allowed any circumstances, however trying, to warrant an usurpation of the clerical character: the holy functions have been uniformly confined to such as have been canonically admitted to them; and the power of administering the sacraments, from the earliest to the latest period of their history, has been most scrupulously withheld from unordained persons.

We were rather late, and lost the beginning of the service, which consisted of the reading of some chapters from the Old and New Testament, and the decalogue. When we entered, the minister was offering up his petitions to heaven from a form of prayer. The three first verses of a canticle, called the Canticle of Zachariah, were then sung, by the whole congregation, to the solemn notes of the organ.

> Béni soit à jamais le grand Dieu d'Israel;
> L'auteur de tous les biens, tout-puissant, éternel,
> Qui, touché de nos cris et de notre misère,
> Dans nos pressans besoins s'est montré notre Père.
>
> Dans ses compassions il nous a visités;
> Par son bras invincible il nous a rachetés;
> Et malgré nos péchés, ce Dieu tendre et propice,
> A fait lever sur nous le soleil de justice.
>
> La maison de David, ce grand Roi des Hebreux,
> Nous donne ce jour un Sauveur glorieux,
> Qui vient nous affranchir d'un funeste esclavage,
> Et nous faire obtenir un céleste héretage.

The sermon followed; it was delivered extempore, or from memory, with much animation, fluency, and action; but, at the same time, with a propriety of manner, and an absence of all extravagance, which it would be better if we could notice in many of those English preachers, who venture to give their exhortations without having them written out. Long pauses were made during the sermon, of which the congregation seemed to take advantage, for the purpose of coughing, sneezing, &c.: there was so much of this, that, it was pretty clear, colds are almost as general here as in England at the same season: and though Lyons is represented as being extremely favoured by mildness of air in the winter, we did not find it so; but, on the contrary, the cold was intense, and the atmosphere very thick. Another prayer was read, from the formulary, after the sermon; then the Lord's prayer, and the Apostles' creed. Next was sung the Canticle of Simeon, and three short benedictions concluded this part of the service.

The minister next began the Communion service, by reading, from his book of prayers, an explanation of the institution. He then addressed a prayer to God, that the communicants might participate in faith, humility, and charity: one sentence was extremely like part of our own supplication; "Vivement touchés de ce don précieux, nous nous consacrons entièrement à toi; nous te présentons nos corps et nos esprits en sacrifice vivant et saint." This was succeeded by two invitations to the people, to approach the holy table. The minister then quitted the pulpit, from which he had delivered the whole of his prayers, sermon, and exhortations, and stood at the table with another clergyman to assist him. He dispensed first to his colleague, and then to himself. After this the communicants, who consisted of two-thirds of a very large congregation, approached the table in two bodies, of which the men formed one, and the women the other. They passed the table in solemn order; and, as they passed, received the bread from one minister, and the cup from the other. The form of consecration and distribution was as follows: "The bread which we break, is the communion of the body of Jesus Christ our Lord."—"The cup of benediction, which we bless, is the communion of the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord." These words, or some sentences from Scripture, were repeated to each person, as he received the bread or the wine. Nothing could be more touching, more imposing, than this simple ceremony, which appealed to the heart, and its best affections. During the whole time of the solemnity, the organ continued to play in its softest tones, and they harmonized with the voice of the ministers, and the calm devotion of the communicants, in a way which must be felt, to be rightly understood.

## CHAPTER II.

*Leave Lyons—Severe winter—Scenery in France—compared with landscapes in England—French and English villages—Gaul and Britain on ancient medals—Hannibal's passage of the Alps—Discovery of a silver votive Buckler—Pont de Beauvoisin—Letters examined—Enter Savoy—The river Guiers—Melancholy condition of the peasantry of Savoy—Sterne's Sentimental Journey—Addison's remarks on several parts of Italy—Tremendous pass—La Chaille—Les Echelles—Montagna della Grotta—Charles Emanuel II.—The persecutor of the Vaudois—Enter the defile of Aiguebelle—The river Arc—A French disputant—Description of the passage of the Alps—The various features of the mountain—Cultivation—Vines—View of sun-rise among the Alps—Cascades—Torrents—Masses of ice—Alpine sublimity—Fortress on the mountain—Lans-le-bourg—Mount Cenis—Cross the mountain on a sledge—Description of the grand route over Mount Cenis—Attack of the French upon Mount Cenis—Hospice—Plain of St. Nicholas—Murat—Traineaus—Mountain prospects—View of Italy from the Alps—Hannibal—Polybius—Livy—Route of the Carthaginian army.*

On Monday evening, December 30, we left Lyons, and commenced our journey to the Alps with all those feelings of expectation, which the name of these tremendous barriers of Italy is calculated to inspire. Livy's fine wintry descriptions, and Eustace's glorious picture of the eternal snows, and frightful passes, which we were going to encounter at the most trying period of an inclement winter, were fresh in our recollection; and we were delighted even with the unusual inhospitality of the season, because it would afford us a better opportunity of ascertaining how far their accounts are correct. We had seen too little of the boasted landscapes of *La Belle France*, to regret that we were not travelling in the summer, or to be convinced that they are of that superior order of beauty, as to bear any comparison with the rich landscapes of merry England. When we are speaking of a mountainous region, it is at once understood what is meant by fine scenery; but perhaps it is not easy to agree upon the essentials which are to constitute beautiful scenery in a flat country. Most people, however, concur in filling up the prospect with groves and streams, gentle undulations of hill and dale, vineyards or hop-grounds, a gay intermixture of corn and meadow land, hedge rows, and groupes of timber trees, and frequent enclosures of various forms and sizes. But, to complete the picture in an Englishman's eyes, there must be the village spire and green, the snug cottage and neat garden, and the substantial farm-house; and he must be occasionally greeted with the sight of a park and mansion-house, and with that general aspect of cheerful comfort, which the residence of the nobility and gentry of a nation, at the hospitable seats of their ancestors, never fails to impart. Every tourist knows that ornamental gardening, the art of laying out grounds to advantage, and the taste for a country life, do not prevail among the French; that the châteaus of the noblesse are formal, and often melancholy-looking, buildings; and that pretty hamlets or villages are rarely to be seen. I do not remember passing through one which had attractions sufficient to make me say, what I have so often thought in England, "Here I could pitch my tent; I could take up my abode in this sweet place, and never desire a lovelier spot." These observations are made with all due allowance for the season of the year in which I was travelling.

"Where are the cattle upon a thousand hills?" is a question, which every body puts who looks for flocks and herds to adorn the landscape. These are not to be seen in France at any time of the year, in that abundance which we should presume from the fertility of the country. In former days, Gaul was so famous for her cattle, that, in old medals, she is often represented with a sheep at her side, to signify the multitude of her flocks, and the richness of her pastures; but now, where you see one flock of sheep, or one field with cattle grazing in it in France, you see ten in England. The wealth of Gaul[i] was anciently so proverbial in this respect, that Horace mentions it among the most enviable products of the world:

> "Quanquam nec Calabræ mella ferunt apes,
> Nec Læstrigonia Bacchus in amphorâ
> Languescit mihi, *nec pinguia Gallicis*
> *Crescunt vellera Pascuis* ——." B. iii. O. 16.

We took no interest in our journey from Lyons till we arrived at Bourgoin, the ancient Bergusium. Here we flattered ourselves that we were following, pretty nearly the same route which Hannibal took in his passage over the Alps. An able Dissertation[k] on this subject was published about three years ago, by a member of the University of Oxford; and I am inclined to follow the line of march which this writer has traced, in preference to any other that has been laid down. He conducts the Carthaginian army along the banks of the Rhone to Vienne, the

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[i] Speaking of Gaul, and ancient medals, reminds me, that the representation of Britain on some of the Roman coins, was not unlike that which appears on our present copper coins. The reverse of an Antoninus Pius, has Britain sitting on a globe, placed in the water. Addison's interpretation of this figure, is rather too conjectural: he says, it meant to denote that Britain was *mistress of a world,* separated from the Roman empire by the interposition of the sea. The Romans were too fond of speaking of Britain in terms of contempt, to pay her this compliment; but, at all events, the present condition of the British empire is more conformable to its ancient emblem, than that of France to hers.

[k] See "A Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps." Oxford, 1820.

Vienna of the Allobroges; and proceeds to argue, with a great deal of ingenuity and probability, that it must have taken an easterly direction from thence, passed over the Mont du Chat, into the plains of Chamberry, followed the course of the river Isere from Montmeillan to Moutier and Scez, crossed over the Graian Alps, or Little St. Bernard, pursued the banks of the Doire[1] through Aoste (Augusta Prætoria), and Ivree (Eporedia), and so to Turin, the capital of the Taurini.

A curious discovery, which was made about a hundred years ago at Le Passage, a village very near the road by which we were travelling, makes it more than a dream of the imagination to suppose, that we were, for a few miles at least, in the track of the most enterprising soldier who ever dared encounter the Roman arms. A peasant ploughed up a large stone, which attracted his notice: he dug under it, and found a round silver plate, of twenty-seven inches in diameter, and weighing 344 ounces. The engraving in the centre of this relic of antiquity, argues strongly in favour of its being Carthaginian: it represents a lion and a palm tree, and under them, in a sort of *exergue*, the torn limbs of some animal. The French Academy pronounced the plate to be a votive buckler, and the lion and the palm-tree to be the ordinary emblems of Carthage. It is still to be seen in the King's Library at Paris. Tradition says, what is not unlikely, that the village of Passage derives its name from the celebrated march of Hannibal; and its position renders it extremely probable that here, if any where, he would offer up his vows for a safe passage over the mountains, and deposit a votive offering, as a memorial of the hazardous expedition. It is at Passage that the flat and more fertile country is left behind; and here the traveller not only begins to mount a chain of hills, which rise higher and higher, until they are succeeded by the formidable Alps themselves; but it is here also that he meets the first acclivity, from which he has a good view of those snow-topped mountains, that threaten to arrest his progress.

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[1] The Doire, Dora, or Duria, rises on Mount Blanc, and falls into the river Po, between Crescentino, and Brusaco; and another river of the same name flows from the Cottian Alps, by Susa and Pianezza, and joins the waters of the Po near Turin. The former was anciently called the Duria Major.

At Pont de Beauvoisin we crossed the Guiers, a river that forms the boundary between France and Savoy; and, on the French side, I met with a detention that might have been followed with more disagreeable consequences. The very strict search to which we were exposed at the Custom-house, revealed a packet of introductory letters, which I had about my person. The discovery appeared to be of a most important nature; and caused such consternation and suspicion among the Douaniers, that they made no hesitation in telling me, that some of these letters might contain treasonable correspondence. I was marched off, under the escort of a soldier, to the post-office, to have the matter examined by the post-master; and my busy imagination conjured up pains and penalties, such as Mr. Bowring had not long before suffered in the prison at Boulogne. At the post-office my letters were examined, and myself questioned. The illegality of my being the bearer of a packet of eight or ten letters, some of which were sealed, was strongly urged against me; and a fine of 300 francs for each, and even imprisonment, were thundered in my ears, as the punishment of my transgression. I pleaded the necessity of taking charge of the letters myself, as they were all introductory, and begged they would open those addressed to the British ministers at Florence and Naples, Lord Burghersh, and Mr. Hamilton, in proof of my being a true man, and no spy. After some consultation, it was determined that I might go my way in peace; but the letters were demanded, in order that they might be transmitted by the post. This I strenuously resisted; and having succeeded in convincing the gentlemen in office, that letters of introduction could be of little use, unless presented in person, I was permitted to carry away my despatches. It is due to the post-master to add, that I was treated with as much civility as the case would allow; and that it was in his power to put me to a great deal of embarrassment.

The aspect of the country became more attractive to the eye as soon as we got into Savoy. The villages are well situated, and well grouped. Many of them in the midst of stately trees, with streams running through them; others upon the edge of precipices, and embosomed by mountains. The river Guiers runs for many miles by the side of the road, or within sight of it; and the sound of its noisy waters harmonizes well with the scenery. But though Savoy is one of the most picturesque countries in Europe, and has all the charms and ever-varying features of mountain beauty, yet the traveller cannot be said to carry away with him any of those recollections, which will make him think of it in future as a region whose inhabitants are to be envied. I formed the same opinion in my first and second journey through it, and even in an excursion to the romantic vale of Chamouny, and upon the banks of the lake of Geneva, in the Chablais, where nature has done so much to favour man; and where the difference between the happiness of the Swiss, and the wretchedness of the Savoyards, is so strikingly visible. Scarcely can the limits between Geneva, or the Valais, and the Chablais, be crossed, before want and beggary appear at every step. Romance and poetry may assign joy and gaiety to what they call the happy valleys of Savoy, and may speak of it as another Arcadia, where gladsome shepherds, and lovely shepherdesses, make the hills resound with their music; but, as far as my observations went, neither in the winter, nor afterwards in the summer, did rustic dance or song enliven morning or evening: no sound of pipe or tabor greeted my ears, nor did the voice of merriment proceed from cabin or cottage, to invite my stay. In the journey that I am now describing, it was certainly too cold for any out-of-door amusements ; but if cheerfulness be the character of a people, it will surely display itself, under some form, at every season. As the snow lay deep upon the ground, and the wind blew keenly and dismally from the mountains, we could not but pity the condition of a peasantry, whose huts are exposed to all the bitterness of cold, wind, frost, and rain, with unglazed windows, and holes in the walls or roofs, for the exit of the smoke. Their clothing was as bad as their shelter; and their general dirty and squalid appearance, the goitres which disfigured their necks, and the vacant stare of idiotcy, which haunted us in every hamlet, the swarms of beggars, and the eagerness and gratitude with which the poor creatures snatched at the smallest alms, left the most painful impressions upon our minds.

Sublime as the scenery may be, it is impossible to enjoy it, where the occupiers of the soil are as miserable as they are here; and no person of any feeling can witness their condition, and return home to talk of the happy Savoyard. Things must be sadly changed, or Sterne, whose " Sentimental Journey" was by the same route which we followed, must have seen them with a very different eye. " Poor, quiet, patient, honest people!" is his language, " fear not! your poverty, the treasury of your simple virtues, will not be envied you by the world, nor will your valleys be invaded by it. *Sweet are the dwellings which stand so sheltered!*" It is insulting poverty, to talk of the happiness which does not enter its dwelling, or of the simplicity which is not its protection. The poor Savoyard is as little sheltered from the invasion of the world, as from the rough visitings of storms and weather; and the experience of the last thirty years proves, that he has derived no more safety from his scanty means, and secluded situation, than in

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former times. The tender mercies of French invaders have always been cruel; and when Addison passed through this country more than a hundred years ago, he made an observation which was enough, of itself, to turn the current of Sterne's reveries, if he had ever seen it. "The common people of this state," says Addison, "are more exasperated against the French, than even the rest of the Italians. For the great mischiefs they have suffered from them, are still fresh upon their memories; and notwithstanding this interval of peace, one may easily trace out the several marches which the French armies have made through their country, by the ruin and desolation they have left behind them. I passed through Piemont and Savoy at a time when the Duke was forced, by the necessity of his affairs, to be in alliance with the French."

I cannot help observing here, how strangely the Vaudois were overlooked even by such an inquisitive and intelligent traveller as Addison. He was contemporary with some of their most celebrated worthies, lived at the very time when the great struggles were taking place for Protestant and Popish ascendancy, and visited Turin, soon after the most striking part of an eventful drama[m] had been performed in the Protestant valleys of Piemont: yet he leaves even the very name of the Vaudois unnoticed. It has been the same with all the principal tourists of the last and present century.

The further we proceeded on our road, the wilder it became. We kept ascending and ascending, as if we meant to reach the very summit of the rocks that soared above us. At length we arrived at the tremendous passage of La Chaille. This struck me as being more formidable than any of those at which we afterwards arrived; but perhaps we are more reconciled to such terrors the more we see. To our right, the river Guiers rolled beneath us at the depth of several hundred feet, foaming and thundering as it dashed along, and forcing its way between two ridges of mountains, which seemed to separate to leave a channel for its course. To our left, lofty and perpendicular ramparts of rock reared their heads to the clouds; and though we were so many fathoms above the bed of the torrent, yet this wall of cliffs appeared to be at places as much elevated above us, as we were above the river. Two carriages could with difficulty pass each other on this frightful road, stretching, as it were, along a ledge of the rock, or dug, like a gallery, out of it. It wound its way among the cliffs, looking as if it would sink under the weight upon it, and having nothing but a slight parapet, to render it secure on the side of the chasms that yawned in view. Should any sudden swing of a heavy carriage dash it against the parapet, it would inevitably give way. But this is not the only apprehension: the projecting crags, which frown above the traveller's head, retain their place by so slight a hold, that the wonder is, why they do not oftener fall. In fact, enormous fragments are often detached from the heights, and lie in masses by the roadside, to justify any fears that may be entertained on the score of personal danger. But a certain degree of peril adds to the interest of an excursion, and every thing combines to render the pass of La Chaille one of the most magnificent and awful on the journey.

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[m] The failure of the attempt to exterminate the Vaudois in 1686, and their triumphant return to their valleys in 1690.

The next grand sight which was reserved for our lowland eyes was the Montagna della Grotta, or mountain and gallery of Les Echelles. After crossing a plain, and surmounting several heights, which the industry and ingenuity of man had rendered practicable for carriages, we arrived before a line of rocks, which seemed to say, "Here you must stop; you cannot climb this barrier." They stood directly at right angles with the road, and rose like a screen, so perpendicularly and abruptly, that no means of ascent offered themselves. The effect is grand in the extreme, to discover that this gigantic pile has been pierced, and a way hollowed out through its very bowels. The magnificent design was achieved by Charles Emanuel II. Duke of Savoy, in 1660. But the most splendid monuments of art, ought not to throw a veil over acts of moral turpitude; and public works are not to divert our attention from the misgovernment of a sovereign. Napoleon, *that imperial road-maker*, as he has been called by a lively writer, is lauded to the skies for the facility with which he has enabled travellers to pass into Italy; and as they roll over those celebrated roads which run across Mount Cenis and the Simplon, made not for their accommodation, but for the passage of his own artillery and desolating armies, they forget the great good he has left undone, in the little that he has done.

Charles Emanuel II. was one of the most cruel persecutors that his faithful Vaudois subjects ever had; their three valleys were bedewed with tears and blood during his reign; and tortures of so hideous a description were inflicted upon persons of all ages, from the infant of six months old, to the superannuated of fourscore, that I am unwilling to sully my pages by a detail of his atrocities [n].

On the first day of January, 1823, we began to cross the Alps; for the passage of these celebrated mountains can hardly be said to commence, before the traveller arrives at the foot of those immense heights, which close in upon the Arc, about twenty miles from Chamberry, and a little before that river falls into the Isere, near Freterive. I will here attempt to explain the appearance of the route over Mount Cenis, which has often been spoken of in general terms, but seldom minutely described. Between its junction with the Isere, and its source on Mount Iseran, a few miles beyond Lans-le-bourg, the river Arc winds its way between two chains of Alps, and literally assumes the form of a bow, as its name denotes. The northern chain is called La Grande Montagne, of which the Glacier, and Mont de la Venoise, compose the most formidable ridges. The southern is divided into several branches, of which the Col de la Batie, the Col de la Rou, the Col d'Albin, and Mount Cenis, are conspicuous above the rest. Along the banks of the Arc, crossing and recrossing it at several points, and never at any great distance from its brink, the grand road into Italy bends its way.

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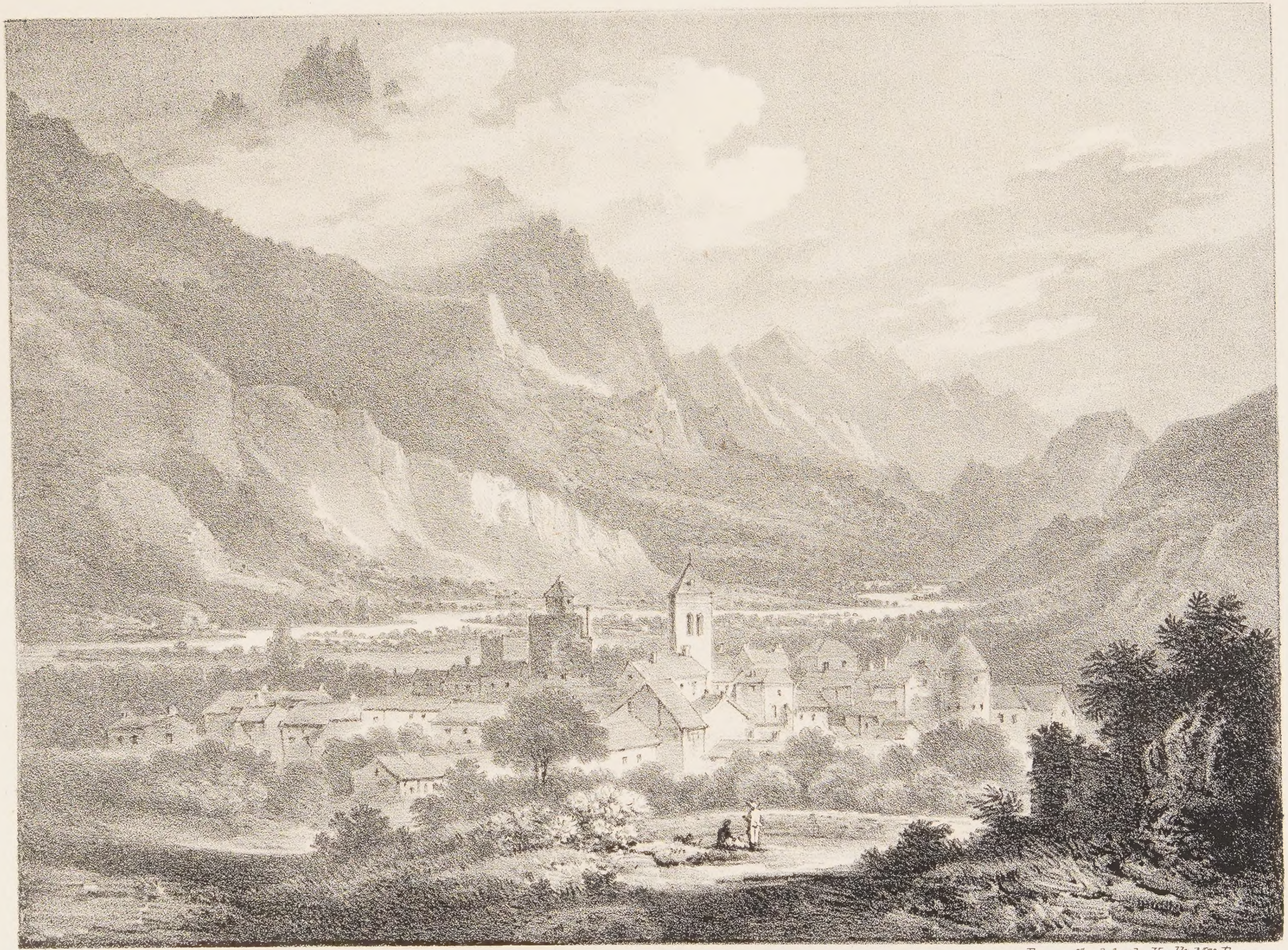
[n] As considerable doubt has been thrown upon the truth of statements which record these monstrous cruelties, I have inserted in the Appendix some copies of vouchers, the originals of which are to be found among the invaluable Vaudois MSS. that are still preserved in the public library of the University of Cambridge. See Appendix, No. 4.

At Aiguebelle, a town which is quite locked in among the mountains, we had a magnificent specimen of the sort of scenery, which we expected would improve upon us as we advanced: it was real Alpine sublimity. The inn where we took some refreshments, happened to be crowded at the time with a very motley party: three French gentlemen, four or five Piemontese officers, and ourselves. The Piemontese kept aloof, but the Frenchmen were very communicative; and the subject turned upon religion. An ex-prefect, a merchant of Lyons, and a captain of dragoons, were the principal interlocutors. The prefect was curious and inquisitive; and after a great many close questions, obtained the information that I was a clergyman of the Church of England. Upon this he began to address me in Latin; and, in spite of my reluctance, forced me into a discussion, in which he affected to have the advantage upon every point, and kept exultingly appealing to his countrymen, and translating our conversation, so as to suit his own purpose. The polemic did not, however, succeed in forming an alliance with the captain or the merchant: the former boldly avowed his opinion, that it was all unnecessary disputation between Papists and Protestants, and that it mattered not which party was right. The merchant declared against the mummery of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and professed his ignorance as to what it could all mean. By way of ending the debate, I told them, I hoped there were two roads to heaven, one for the Roman Catholics, and the other for the Protestants. "Yes, yes," replied the ex-prefect, "there are two roads, but one goes up, and the other goes down; and the latter is the path you take."

But although the French party did not agree upon theological subjects, they cordially joined their forces against the *amateurs of nature*, as they styled us; and laughed heartily at, what they considered, our extravagant admiration of mountain scenery. Not one of them seemed to take the least interest in a journey over the Alps, or to have any taste for picturesque beauty.

Upon leaving Aiguebelle, we entered a narrow defile, the road through which rises upon a gentle ascent, which is perceptible rather from the slow pace at which you are travelling, than from any visible elevation. For several leagues this continues, and you are scarcely sensible that you are climbing a mountain. The most obvious mark of our progress was in the changing character of the Arc, which ran in a contrary direction to the course we were following. When first we saw this river, it was flowing along in a broad, shallow, transparent sheet of water; but the further we advanced, the more impetuous was the current. At St. Jean de Maurienne, it was no longer gliding "in aquas tenues;" and at St. Michel, it was a frightful torrent. The river and the mountain may be said to vary in the same degree: where the one is only a lively stream, the sides of the other are cheerful-looking slopes, smiling under the influence of human industry: and, in many places, cottages are seen up to the very ridges, peeping from among vines and trellice-work, or half con-



Drawn by F. Nicholson

From a Sketch by the Hon.$^{ble}$ M$^{rs}$ Fortescue

ST. JEAN DE MAURIENNE.

Printed by C. Hullmandel.

London. Pub.$^{d}$ by C. & J. Rivington. St. Paul's Church Y.$^{d}$ & Waterloo Place. 1824.

cealed in the midst of chesnut and walnut trees. But where the Arc is a mighty rushing water, there you see " montes concurrere montibus altos," and huge heaps of rock thrown together in the most appalling confusion.

Between St. Jean de Maurienne and St. Michel, the sides of the mountain became more and more bare, the cascades increase in power and number, and those insecure Alpine bridges of firs, thrown across the torrents, strike the eye more frequently, and add to the picturesque beauties of the pass. It is here that one begins to wonder how cultivation can succeed, and more especially how the vines can find nourishment among the almost bare crags, upon which they are trained. Upon a close inspection it is found, that the strata consist of a soft kind of stone, which yields to the action of the weather upon it, and pulverizes into a soil, which is sufficiently nutritious to the trees and shrubs that find root there.

On the 2d of January, the day on which we were to cross Mount Cenis, we set out from St. Michel at three o'clock in the morning. Our expectations were raised to the highest pitch. We were all impatience; and whenever any salutations passed upon the road, Mount Cenis was sure to be introduced. " In what condition is the mountain? Is it passable? Have any carriages crossed within the last day or two? Is the snow deep?" The rising sun this morning afforded us a most superb and glorious sight: there was not a colour which his rays did not throw upon the mountains. It was at one time like a vast mantle of crimson, which gradually changed from one hue to another, until it mellowed down to the softest purple: it then brightened again, and irradiated the snow-clad tops of the extreme heights, till every crag looked like a flame of fire. No words can describe the ever-varying splendour occasioned by the glorious orb, while he was slowly climbing the heavens, and pouring his streams of light first upon one ridge, and then upon another. I have since beheld that magnificent spectacle, the sun-rise from the summit of Mount Vesuvius, a sight which is said to be unrivalled; but, to my eyes, never did any thing equal the lustre which the same object displayed this morning, while we were in the midst of some of the most sublime and stupendous scenery, which this passage of the Alps affords. The hard, bright, glittering beds of snow, that lay upon the peaks, receiving and transmitting the rays of light; the frozen sides of the cascades, and channels of the torrent, that sparkled under every ray that fell upon them; the pendent icicles of a thousand forms and sizes; the crisp and fringy flakes of snow that hung from the pines; the enormous masses of ice, clear as chrystal or diamond, and reflecting as many colours; the foaming Arc in the abysses below; the shining roofs of a village, which was more than a hundred yards beneath us: all these objects, contrasting with the black and gloomy bank of firs in the shade, presented a coup d'œil surpassing the wildest dreams of the imagination. To add to the glory of this morning view, we had the fortress which the King of Sardinia has been constructing to guard the defile, and which kept breaking in detached masses upon our sight, till at last the entire building stood revealed before us. It is erected on one of the wildest and most inaccessible spots that could be chosen, amidst larches, firs, and mountain pines; some clothed in their darkest drapery, and others bare, or cleft and riven by the irresistible convulsions of nature.

Just before we arrived at Lans-le-bourg, the road stretched across a branch of, what I should suppose to be, Mount Iseran, from which is caught the first sight of Mount Cenis, and its snows of a thousand years.

> "Cuncta gelu canâque æternum grandine tecta,
> Atque ævi glacies."——Sil. It. b. 3.

Our eyes were fixed upon the stupendous object before us, and our thoughts upon the *traineaus* on which we were to cross the mountain. We took two of these at Lans-le-bourg, one drawn by a horse, and the other by a mule, and set off from the town at a gallop, at eleven o'clock. The first line of the zig-zag ascent was mounted at a brisk trot; but after we had gained about a quarter of the ascent, we were glad to stop, and look down upon the vale below, where every object was soon reduced to the most diminutive proportions. The day was peculiarly bright and clear, and so far from being cold, that we dispensed with part of the thick clothing, which we had provided against the expected severity of the wind and frost. Nothing could be more lively or amusing than this sledge expedition. The conductors managed their *traineaus* with admirable skill, and with a dexterity that, to our unpractised eyes, seemed really wonderful, varying their position with the occasion, and sometimes leaving the vehicle itself to assist in dragging it over the more difficult parts of the ascent.

The snow had fallen deep upon the mountain; but, by the exertions of the men, who were stationed at intervals for that purpose, it was cleared away sufficiently to enable us to pass without any real difficulty. The passage, even at this season of an unusually severe year, was so far from being impracticable, that we met two carriages on their journey, one of which had but two horses; and we almost began to be disappointed in finding Mount Cenis so accessible. The ancient route, however, must have been dangerous, as well as difficult; though the present offers an easy ascent, which requires of the traveller nothing but time and patience. The road winds gradually up the mountain, sometimes forming a sort of terrace, with parapets of immense strength, formed of enormous blocks of stone, and posts of wood, to mark the track, in case of any unusual drift of snow. In many places, the road looks as if it were suspended among the clouds; and at every turn or traverse, you necessarily take a direction, which is nearly the reverse of what you were following a minute before. In fact the lines of your course form something like alternate angles, by which means all abruptness and steepness of way is entirely prevented, and the summit of the pass is reached by an ascent that has been regularly graduated. Travellers up and down the mountains were seen in various directions, and of various occupations; some at a prodigious height above our heads, and others as far below us; while parties of muleteers were descending by the old route, forming a dark outline with the shining banks of snow, and adding not a little to the general effect of the scene, by the sense of peril connected with their situation.

We were about three hours in gaining the highest point of the pass, which was, as I should judge, about 250 feet below the peak of the mountain. Our guides pointed out to us a very steep and projecting ridge, on which two hundred Savoyard peasants stationed themselves, to oppose some French troops at the beginning of the Revolution, but they were soon driven from their position, though the first attack, which was made upon Mount Cenis by the French, completely failed. It was attempted to be executed by 1500 men, who advanced in three columns, from Lans-le-Villars, Le Monfrey, and by the *grande route.* The second attack succeeded, which was also made in three columns, under the command of General Dumas, in May, 1794. The left column, consisting of 400 men, took the battery of Villaret, at the point of the bayonet: the right column, of 900 strong, made itself master of the battery of Rivet, in the same gallant style; and the centre, of 600 men, charged along the main pass, and carried every thing before it, until it arrived at the summit of the position, which was the object of the attack.

After reaching the most elevated part of the road, the traveller proceeds across, what is called, the plain of Mount Cenis, which is of considerable extent; and here he finds the well known Hospice, founded originally by Charlemagne, and re-established by Napoleon. During the whole passage of the Alps, Mount Cenis itself was the least dreary looking part of our journey. Its hamlets and Hospice, its houses of refuge, twenty-five in number, each occupied by a cantonnier, and built for the reception of those who might otherwise be lost in the snow storms, and the concourse of travellers through the passes, take away from the mind all idea of desolation, notwithstanding the wild character of the scenery. Indeed we met with more traffic on the mountain than on any other part of our road within an equal distance; and we could hardly believe that we had really passed that dreaded barrier, which had for so many centuries been the terror of those who were obliged to cross it. The most magnificent section of the mountain is that which overhangs the plain of St. Nicholas: here the rocks rise so perpendicularly, and with such aspiring loftiness, that, in the clearest day, the clouds hang about the peaks, and the very chamois avoid them.

Here you look down upon the road, which appears at some places hollowed out of the rock; at others, supported by arches, crossing over bridges, bordered by precipices, protected by walls, and shewing at every yard that there had been an arduous conflict, before the perseverance of man had been able to overcome the obstinacy of nature. We were about two hours in accomplishing the descent into Susa; and towards the afternoon, (although we had none of those violent gusts which generally blow from Piemont) the sharpness of the air, together with the wilfulness of our conductors, who seemed to delight in shaking our nerves, and shewing us how near they could take the *traineaus* to the edge of the precipices, made us glad that this part of our journey was over. The descent into Lans-le-bourg may be performed in a sledge in seven minutes; and Murat is said to have done it in six; but it must be by one of the old routes, and attended with extreme hazard.

The general appearance of Mount Cenis, when seen from a distance, is more striking from the side of Turin, than from that of Chamberry, because it rises more abruptly from its base in Piemont than in Savoy: the view of the valleys is also more interesting from the Piemontese side. But the traveller must not expect to see an unbounded horizon, or any thing like a panoramic view: it is quite fabulous to talk of any of the passes as commanding a general prospect of the plains of Lombardy. Much may probably be seen in a clear day, if a person be enterprising enough to ascend one of the summits; but a passage across mountain scenery rarely presents that extensive and distant view which is imagined; and it is difficult to determine where Polybius and Livy could have placed Hannibal, to give him and his army that sight of the plains of the Po, which had the effect of animating their sinking spirits: the direction is all that could possibly have been pointed out, from whatever spot the Carthaginian harangued his troops; for wherever there is a pass that conducts across mountains, there must be intersections, and chains and ridges flanking and crossing each other, and effectually intercepting any distant prospect.

I have crossed the Alps by the Simplon, Mount St. Gothard, and the great St. Bernard, as well as by Mount Cenis; but I do not remember seeing or hearing any body speak of those boundless views, which Hannibal's historians had in their imagination. The general accuracy of Polybius's account of that great general's march over the Alps, must make us loth to deny all credit to his statements; but Livy's descriptions are the dreams of a poet, rather than the details of an historian. Nothing can be more beautiful than the dreary and wintry picture which he has drawn; his scenery is truly Alpine; and the sufferings and embarrassments of the Carthaginian army are those which they must really have encountered, had they actually been exposed to the situations in which he has placed them. But it is more than exaggeration, it is mere fable, to talk of an experienced soldier attempting to lead an armament, consisting of certainly not less than 26,000[n] men, with cavalry, elephants, and baggage, over the Alps, and through hostile tribes, under the conduct of guides, whose fidelity[o] or knowledge of the passes was questionable; and to march troops by mountain paths, which were so slippery[p], that they could not move without falling, beyond the power of recovering themselves; and where man and beast kept rolling over one another in endless confusion. His other accounts are even still more preposterous. For instance, the idea of recovering some of the cattle, or beasts of burden, after they had *fallen from the rocks*[q], and the romantic dilemma of arriving at a spot, where an army, which had passed through so many real obstacles, was at last stopped by a precipice of a thousand[r] feet deep, and obliged to spend four days in digging, and burning, and melting a passage through the rock. The fact is, that Hannibal was a general of too much experience, to think of a random expedition in the face of such mountain obstacles as Livy has represented: on the contrary, he must have supplied himself with able and trustworthy guides, who knew and described the passes which the army was to take: he must have ascertained his route and resources before he set out, and have taken that line of march where his troops would have the means of subsistence, and the least fatigue. The plains of Chamberry, the valleys of the Isere, and Aouste, and the passes which were traced by following the courses of the Isere and the Doire, offered Hannibal a practicable route; which, though it was not without its perils and difficulties, yet did not expose his forces to the certainty of being starved to death, or lost amidst precipices.

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[n] "Minimum, viginti millia peditum, sex equitum," &c.

[o] "Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est, per invia pleraque, et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus, aut ubi fides iis non esset, temerè initæ valles a conjectantibus iter faciebant."

[p] "Omnis enim ferme via præceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec si qui paullulum titubassent, hærere afflicti vestigio suo: aliique super alios, et jumenta et homines occiderent."

[q] "Jumenta aliquot, quæ prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis, in castra pervenere."

[r] "Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem, atque ita rectis saxis, ut ægre expeditus miles tentabundus, manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes, demittere se posset——in pedum mille altitudinem——tantum nivis fodiendum

atque egerendum fuit——struem ingentem lignorum faciunt: eamque succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt——quatriduum circa rupem consumptum."—Livy, l. 21. c. 35, 36, 37.

## CHAPTER III.

*Arrive at Turin—Priests and officers—Monks—Penitents—Popish cathedral service—Its effect on the imagination—Chapel of the British minister—A Vaudois pastor—Eloquent appeal—Badness of the weather—The Superga—Retrospect—Victor Amadeus II.—Prince Eugene—Meeting of Eugene and Amadeus—Persecutions of the Vaudois—France and Savoy attack the Protestants—Henri Arnaud—Imprisonment of the whole Protestant population—Thousands perish in the Jails—Flight of the Vaudois to Switzerland—Restored to their country—Reconciled to their sovereign—Victor Amadeus and the Duke of Marlborough—M. Vertu—Distressed English lady—Bigotry—Opera at Turin—King of Sardinia—Revolutionary movements in Roman Catholic countries.*

We arrived at Turin on Friday, January 3; and never, since we left England, had we been gratified with the sight of so many cheerful-looking houses and gardens as between Rivoli, and the capital of Piemont. The city itself is much more imposing at first entrance, than either Paris or Lyons, from the breadth and cleanliness of the streets, and the uniformity of the houses. There was something also in the appearance of the population, which told us we were in a new region, and added to the general effect; but the most striking objects were priests and soldiers, both of whom swarm in Turin. The dress and figures of the Piemontese officers were equally handsome; and the long flowing cassocks and cloaks, the large flapped hats, and confident air of the priests, told that they are by no means the despised and neglected order that they are in France. Once only, on my journey through France, did I see any mark of respect paid to the clergy, and that was at Lyons, where an aged priest, not in the full garb of his profession, passed a boy, who bowed to him; and the visible delight of the old man sufficiently proved the attention was neither usual nor expected. At Moulins we happened to follow a priest for some distance, arrayed in all his canonicals; but "none cried, God bless him." The influence of the Roman hierarchy is sensibly felt in the metropolis of his Sardinian majesty; we noticed, on the outside of churches, innumerable such inscriptions as, "*Plenary indulgence*," and "*Pray for the soul of Filippo Costani*;" and saw votaries offering up their supplications before pictures of the Virgin at the corners of the streets, penitents kneeling on the steps of churches, and mendicant monks with their cowls and rosaries. The whole scene is not only strikingly new, but even romantic, to a Protestant, who is accustomed to think of such things as divided from him by centuries.

One of my young friends went into a church the first day of our arrival, and came out amazed at what he had seen: he could talk of nothing but the crossings, and bowings, and genuflexions, and ringing and tingling, and placing and displacing and replacing the sacred utensils upon the altar, as if the worship of the ministers consisted in a sort of manual exercise, and gymnastic exhibition, in theatrical prostrations, and prescribed and studied obeisances. He was as much inclined to turn all that he saw into ridicule, as another of my companions was disposed to set an undue value upon some of the more impressive ceremonials of the Catholic service. We went together to the cathedral upon a festival day, in which high mass was performed, in presence of the bishop and chapter, and a large body of troops, who filled the nave. Certainly the appeal to the imagination was strong, but it was only to the imagination: a dim mysterious light fell through the stained glass of the arched windows, and mingled strangely with the blaze of the numberless tapers upon the altar: the cross, and the sacred vessels, were magnificent in the extreme; long trains of priests and choristers gave a solemn animation to the scene; and even the incense had its share in bewildering the senses; the brain was all but intoxicated with the overwhelming sweetness of the odour. But the effect of the music, inexpressibly fine in itself, thus favoured by every concomitant circumstance, had an influence beyond the power of language to describe; the soft breathings of the organ, and the wind-instruments, seemed to linger upon every column and upon every monument, till at last there was a rush of sound that filled the remotest parts of the cathedral, and, for the moment, filled the breast with unusual emotions; but, it was only for the moment, and could be only for the moment. Religious feeling that is called forth by appeals to the senses, must pass away with the existing cause; it should well from the heart itself, or we can hardly hope that it will be lasting. We may go to a Catholic cathedral to gratify a taste for music and splendour, but not for sentiments of pure devotion. The choir, and the chaunting, the military band and the opera singers, the banners and trophied monuments, the decorated altars and splendid paintings, the voluptuous portraits of beautiful Magdalenes and handsome St. Sebastian's, these are all "of the earth, earthy," far removed from the true "image of the heavenly."

At the British minister's chapel, on the following Sunday, I had the good fortune to fall in with a merchant (M. Vertu), who is a native Vaudois, but settled as a resident at Turin; and from him I gathered all the particulars which were necessary for my excursion to the valleys of the Pelice and Clusone. Some of his family were living at La Torre, the principal village of the community, and to them he most kindly offered to give me a letter of introduction. To my great surprise, I also learnt that the minister who officiated, was one of the Vaudois clergy, the pastor of La Torre, the learned and excellent M. Bert. This was unexpected pleasure ; I found myself at once enjoying the advantage of being introduced to a distinguished member of that church, which was the cradle of the Protestant faith. Upon this occasion our conversation was short, but I had the prospect before me of gathering all the information I desired, and from the best source. The service at the British chapel is not performed in English, nor according to the English Liturgy ; but in French, and after the ritual of the church of Geneva or Neufchatel, for the accommodation of the numerous Protestants in Turin, who, not being permitted to have any place of worship of their own, petitioned to have the use of the privileged chapel of the British Ambassador. All the seats in two large rooms were full, and the service not unlike that which we attended at Lyons. The sermon was delivered with considerable earnestness. M. Bert preached on the subject of the new year ; and some of his sentences were uncommonly energetic, but without the least rant or extravagance. I wrote down from memory a few of those which were the most striking; but I fear I shall do them injustice in the translation.

" Oh thou omnipotent, most gracious and adorable Father of all, great and good and just as thou art, with what eyes of displeasure must thou behold thine erring children ! Thou givest them time and opportunity for improvement, but they embrace it not. Thou grantest unto them a new year, but they renew not their hearts." * * * *

" My brethren, I know your pleas and excuses ; I can recount to you every pretext upon which you think to justify your culpable negligence. I know, too, the foundation of sand upon which you build your hopes." * * * *

" You are in health and vigour ; you are young and strong ;

and many years of life and enjoyment are yet before you: time enough, you say, for reformation. I look around me with melancholy regret. How many youthful, blooming countenances do I miss! How many vigorous frames are now returning to dust; how many of the robust and healthy, upon whom I used to gaze with interest from this very pulpit, not more than twelve months since, are in their graves. To them, alas, time is no more!"

"Others among you say, that they have engagements and occupations, which distract their minds, and prevent their performing their Christian duty as strictly as they know they ought to do. Engagements! What! are all your engagements then for man, and none for God? Oh! the sublimity, the boundless extent of God's mercy and indulgence! He suffers you to break engagements with him, which you would not dare to violate with your fellow-creatures. He still continues to say to you, come unto me, faithless and sinful children; come unto me, and I will receive you. Repent, reform, and I will forget the past; I will pardon, love, and bless you."

The weather remained for several days too severe, and the atmosphere too thick, to permit our making our excursion to the mountains of the Vaudois; and part of the intervening time was spent in visiting objects in and near Turin. The Superga is the principal. This magnificent edifice was erected by Victor Amadeus II. on the elevated spot whence Prince Eugene, in 1706, reconnoitred the position of the French army, then besieging the capital, and in memory of the successful campaign which delivered the Ducal states from the invading enemy. Nothing can surpass the grandeur of the design or execution; and pages might be filled with a description of the treasures which have been exhausted in completing this *reale basilica,* and in producing the dazzling effect caused by its marble columns and pavement. As an object of curiosity to the traveller, it is beyond all praise; but as I rambled through the superb cloisters and terraces, and the proud arcades of this glorious cathedral, as aspiring in its magnificence as it is towering in its situation, I could not help reproaching the ostentatious devotion of its founder, who might have made thousands and thousands happy by a better application of his treasures. Had he built an asylum for the reception of the widows and children of those who fell in his service; or an hospital for the brave men, whose blood sprinkled the laurels which he won, it might still have been the Superga, and commanded the admiration, as well as the wonder, of those who visit it.

The bones of Victor Amadeus rest in a royal sepulchre, certainly the most costly in Europe; and his ashes repose under a cupola, from whose lofty top the rich plains of Piemont, the Alps, those eternal barricades of Italy, and the Po, king of floods, may be seen in all their pride and glory. The memorial of his gratitude to the Virgin, is beheld for leagues and leagues before that capital can be approached, which his valiant legions saved by their devoted heroism; and none can ascend the Superga without thinking and speaking of Victor Amadeus the Second! But had he founded an institution like that of the Hotel Dieu at Lyons, or the college at Chelsea, or the hospital at Greenwich, his name would have been blessed by hundreds of thousands; when it is now only mentioned among the number of those many vain-glorious sovereigns, who knew how to conquer their enemies, but not to make their subjects happy. Man may try to outdo the works of nature; he may erect the most stupendous and costly monuments; but, in most cases, they expose him to censure or reproach. The hill, on which the Superga stands, would have commanded the same extensive prospects, without the aid of that aspiring dome. Its bold elevation would of itself have reminded posterity, that, upon that height, stood Eugene, by the side of the warlike Duke of Savoy, when his great mind comprehended at a glance the blunders of the French army, and formed a plan for their defeat: but the basilica of Victor Amadeus ought never to be seen without raising emotions unfavourable to its founder. It was cemented with the blood, and washed with the tears, of his people. He kept his vow to the Virgin; and thousands must have been wrung from his subjects, to enable him to do so: but he knew not how to abide by his promises of protection to his faithful Vaudois, although they were drawn from him by services and sacrifices, which deserved the amplest recompense.

In the annals of Europe, if the register of provincial cruelties can be kept out of sight, and his private character suppressed, Victor Amadeus will always make a conspicuous figure, and interest the reader. The romantic events of his military career, his martial spirit, and the personal disasters which he had to encounter, render his name dear to history. Recorded with those of Eugene and Marlborough, it will go down to posterity with more than its just share of glory. Eugene and the Duke of Savoy first met in a meadow near Carmagnola. The one had effected the interview by descending from the Tyrolese Alps, and traversing the plains of Lombardy with his victorious troops; and the other, by stealing a march from the recesses at the foot of Mount Viso, where he had been concealed and protected by the Vaudois. They ascended the heights of the Superga together; and the transport of the royal fugitive was so great at hearing Eugene's plan for the relief of his capital, that when he was asked where he would dine, "At Turin, at Turin!" was his exulting reply.

There is still extant in one of the Vaudois families, a letter of the Duke of Savoy, dated September 2, 1684; in which the fidelity of his Vaudois subjects, and their inviolable attachment to their sovereigns, is acknowledged in the very strongest terms. There are also, among the archives of the state, copies of no less than ten edicts, issued between the year 1561 and 1686; in which concessions are granted to the Protestants, and the free exercise of their religion confirmed to them. One of these concessions, viz. that of 1620, was purchased at the expense of six thousand crowns, by the poor inhabitants of the three valleys[5]. Notwithstanding, in the face of these solemn immunities, the last of which was granted in 1679, Victor Amadeus published a decree on the 31st of January, 1686, in which it was declared, that every Protestant church and chapel should be razed to the ground; and that every person professing the Protestant faith, should publicly renounce his errors within fifteen days from the date of the proclamation, under penalty of banishment.

Every sort of remonstrance was made against so horrible an edict, not only on the part of the Vaudois themselves, but also in the names of Protestant governments in alliance with the sovereign of Piemont. But Victor Amadeus was deaf to prayers and expostulations, and proceeded to put his decree into execution. The whole population of the Protestant valleys at that time did not exceed 15,000 souls: of these, 2500 only were capable of bearing arms, and even they were unprepared, and indifferently provided with supplies of any sort to defend themselves against an attack. But what will not men do, who are driven to desperation? "Death rather than the mass," was shouted from mountain to mountain; the vales re-echoed with the cry; and it was determined to defy the threats of their persecutors. The King of France, who had urged on the Duke of Savoy to carry fire and sword into the Protestant villages, assailed these poor people with his troops from the French frontier, while an armed force marched against them from Turin. Hostilities commenced in April, 1686, and enemies from all quarters poured in upon their prey. The French general, Catinat, wrote to the Duke of Savoy, that he would have *the honour of striking the first blow at the heretics.* He did so: but, says Henri Arnaud, who has written a history of this sanguinary invasion, *he had the honour of being well beat:* "ils eurent aussi l'honneur d'être bien battus." The Vaudois gallantly withstood the first shock of war; and, for three days, were victorious in every engagement. At length they were compelled, by the overwhelming numbers of their invaders, to submit; but not before such horrible devastation had been carried into every hamlet, and such unheard-of barbarities committed upon all ages, even upon women and infants, that it would be outraging human nature to recount them.

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[5] See the Appendix, No. 5.

The survivors were given to understand, that they would experience their sovereign's clemency, if they would submit unconditionally. They did submit; and Victor Amadeus, *in his mercy,* commanded a seizure to be made of their houses, land, and property, and divided them among his troops, and the most zealous of the Catholic persecutors. He then committed the whole of the Protestant population to prison; and the jails in his dominions were so full of these wretched people, that they perished by hundreds, of hunger, thirst, and infectious diseases. It would be a hard matter to represent all the miseries and calamities these prisoners suffered during their captivity; and they were more or less ill treated, according to the humours of those who had the command of their prisons. They had nothing in their several prisons but bread and water for their ordinary food; the one without substance, and the other from the kennels in the streets. In some places they gave them water only at certain set times, and that in such small quantities, that many perished. They slept on the bare bricks; or, if they were allowed straw, it was rotten, and full of vermin; while the dungeons were so thronged, they were crowded to suffocation. The place of the dead, numbers of them dying every day, was constantly supplied with fresh prisoners, that the dungeons might always be equally thronged; and the intense heat of the summer, and the corruption that the chambers were infected with, by reason of the great number of the sick, engendered evils too horrible for recital[1]. In six months, three thousand only of the sufferers were alive; and for these the Protestant ambassadors at the court of Turin made such urgent intercession, that the Duke of Savoy was again constrained to exercise his clemency. He was pleased to pardon and release them, upon condition of their banishing themselves for ever from their homes and habitations.

The poor wanderers set out upon their melancholy journey destitute, after having, in many instances, had their children forcibly taken from them, that they might be brought up in the Catholic religion. Their pastors were separated from the people, and in this condition they were obliged to make their way across the mountains, and bend their steps towards Switzerland. The weather was uncommonly severe, and hundreds perished on the road of cold and hunger. But a remnant providentially escaped; and, at the expiration of three years, an intrepid band of 800 of these exiles put themselves under the command of one of their pastors, Henri Arnaud, determined to regain their valleys at the point of the sword, or die upon their native soil. They were miraculously supported by the arm of Providence; and maintained their position among the fastnesses of Angrogna, until the alliance was dissolved between the King of France, and the Duke of Savoy and the latter engaged to recal their brethren in exile, and to re-instate them all in their former possessions, upon condition of their putting themselves under his banners, against Louis XIV. Henri Arnaud's account of this glorious return to their valleys, *(La glorieuse rentrée des Vaudois dans leurs vallées)* will be further noticed in the course of this work. I had the gratification of visiting some of the spots, where they successfully maintained their ground against frightful superiority of forces: but I cannot resist the pleasure of noticing in this place the Christian manner in which that brave soldier, Arnaud, speaks of the remorseless tyrant, who had exposed him, and his people, to such unmerited sufferings. "The French," said he, "artfully insinuated that his Serene Highness the Duke of Savoy ought to imitate the zeal of Louis XIV. in destroying the churches of the Vaudois, and forcing them to embrace the Catholic religion. That prince, although he was then quite a youth, was for a time unwilling to come to such extremities with subjects who had always served him faithfully; and generously, and with a Christian spirit, refused to comply with their pernicious counsels; but at length he was over-persuaded," &c. &c. The duke himself, when he received the first deputation of the Vaudois, after their restoration to favour and protection, acknowledged that it was no fault of theirs, but the evil counsel of others, which had been the occasion of their misfortunes. "Jusqu'a présent," was his language, "Nous avons été ennemis; désormais il nous faut être bons amis: d'autres ont été la cause de vôtre malheur."

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[1] See the History of the Vaudois, p. 200, by Peter Boyer. London, 1692.

The sequel of the history is worthy of the beginning. Victor Amadeus had so much reason to be satisfied with the loyalty and extraordinary valour of his Vaudois troops, that he would not suffer them to be intermixed with other regiments. They were brigaded by themselves, commanded by their own officers, and invariably occupied a distinguished post in every action. But their fidelity did not end here. Successive reverses obliged the duke to retreat before the French. He even became a fugitive; and where did he take refuge? In the valleys of the Vaudois! The persecutor fled to the persecuted for safety; and behind the Pelice, in a secluded spot in the village of Rora, Victor Amadeus found a safe asylum among the very people, whom he had denounced, proscribed, and hunted down even to torture and death. Such was the fidelity and loyalty of the Vaudois; and how did the sovereign testify his sense of their services? To the family indeed, in whose house he had found shelter, he granted the *invaluable* privilege of having an enclosed burial-place! But the Vaudois, as a community, were forgotten. At the return of peace, and upon his re-instatement in power, the grateful Victor Amadeus added one more to the edicts in force against his Protestant subjects, and built the Superga!!!

"I do not only esteem, but I really love that prince," wrote the Duke of Marlborough to his duchess, in 1706; but great generals and great statesmen are too apt to love and hate according to the temperature of the political atmosphere. And in the following year, when the Duke of Savoy, with his natural treachery of character, began to transfer his jealousy of the French to his allies and deliverers, the English commander entertained very different sentiments[u].

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[u] "Your highness sees how the duke acts; and if our allies will let him go on, and will continue their confidence in him, to our exclusion, they will repent of it another day."—*Letter from Count Wratislaw to Marlborough.*

"The Duke of Savoy, with his usual policy, seeing the great difficulties, not to say impossibilities, of this operation, throws it entirely on me. He does it with the more cunning, because he praises me on my capacity, and says I can do what I will." —*Prince Eugene to Marlborough.*

"I have long entreated your highness that such approbation and facility should not be given in England to the projects of the Duke of Savoy. He insinuates, &c. This poison, however subtle and insinuating, is too apparent to deceive persons so enlightened as you, and who reflect on the conduct of the Duke of Savoy at all times. I do not affirm that we ought not to conciliate him, and must grant what

Our new Vaudois friend, M. Vertu, was unremitting in his kindness and attention to us; he invited us to his house, made a party to meet us, introduced us to several of his Italian acquaintances, and contributed much towards making our time pass agreeably in Turin. One of the gentlemen, whom we met at his house, was a Piemontese officer, the son of a colonel, who was assassinated in his own chamber. The assassin has escaped justice, and is now at large. Among other things, we were doubly obliged to M. Vertu, for giving us an opportunity of receiving some Italian lessons from a countrywoman, who is reduced to the necessity of giving instruction, and of recommending her to English families, who may have better means of serving her than we had. Perhaps it will be more delicate not to mention her name. Those who may chance to read these pages, and feel an inclination to do her a kindness, will easily find a way to do so.

Madame ——— is of a most respectable family, I believe from the west of England; but was unfortunately taken to the continent at too early an age to know how to estimate the English character. Her education and accomplishments were of the first order, and so must have been her beauty; but the latter has been cruelly impaired by the sorrow and drudgery which she has since undergone. The flattery and persevering gallantries of a foreigner, were too much to be withstood by a young and inexperienced girl, who had hitherto been accustomed to nothing more than the honest and sober attention of her own countrymen; and in an evil hour she consented to unite her destiny to his.

we have promised; but at the same time distrust his personal conduct and advice; and not be the dupes of his suggestions. Far from placing the same confidence in him as we have lately done," &c. &c.—*Letter from Count Wratislaw.*

"The enclosed is a copy of a letter I have received from Count Wratislaw, and all in cypher. I am afraid his characters are very just."—*Marlborough to Godolphin.*——See Coxe's Memoirs of Marlborough, vol. ii. chap. 61.

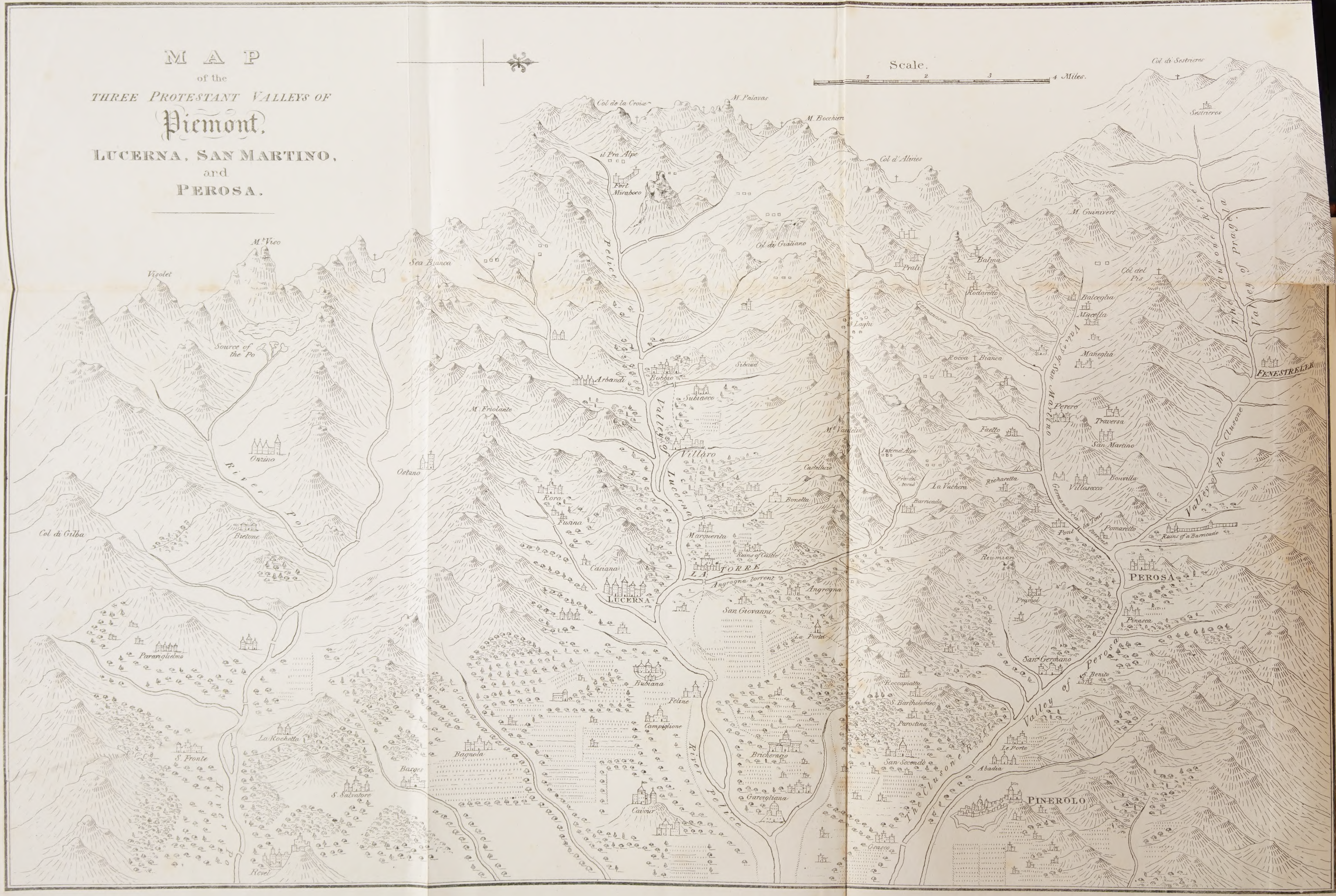
The man's mind and endowments, his condition and situation in life, were all considerably beneath her. She was discarded by her family, and obliged to take her chance with his. If her connexions were aware of the trials to which she has been exposed, how meekly she has submitted to them, and how well she has acquitted herself under the duties of a wife and mother of three children, their hearts would relent, and she would again be received into the bosom of her kindred. She has been more than the nurse, the only servant to her children; and her time is so occupied between her pupils, and her domestic toils, as to leave not a moment even for necessary relaxation. When she was confined with her first child, she was reduced to a state of the extremest indigence: her husband was away; she had not a soul near her, to whom she could look for comfort; and after eight days of the most critical danger, at the moment when she most wanted assistance, the woman who was to attend her, left her bed-side to go to mass!

In addition to deprivations and sufferings such as these, which are inseparable from her present condition in life, she has had to encounter all those vexatious and harassing proceedings, to which the Protestant wife of a Catholic is subject in this country. Her father-in-law has instituted several suits to annul her marriage, and to prove the illegitimacy of her children: happily, without success: but her husband has so far entered into the bigoted feelings of his father, as to oblige her to receive the visits of priests, who have resorted to every expedient to effect her conversion. He has even treated her at times so harshly, because she would not be an apostate from her own faith, that, to use her own words, she has literally been "without food, clothes, or shelter." But, in spite of such ill treatment, she is so dutifully attached to her husband, that, to my own knowledge, she refused to accept an invitation to her kind friend, Madame Vertu, when he was not asked to be of the party; and I never heard her speak of him but in terms of tenderness and affection. Those who know the importunities of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and the never ceasing perplexities to which a Protestant wife is exposed, will know how to estimate the firmness of this unfortunate lady.

Before I left Turin, I had several times the means of gratifying my curiosity by a sight of the royal family. They move about with very little parade or ostentation, and appear to have no apprehensions of an unfavourable reception from the people. At the opera, a stranger may have a full gaze at them almost every evening: they are constant in their attendance there, and sit in full view of the audience. The queen has not a very prepossessing countenance: it is the long, uninteresting Spanish-Bourbon face, in which we can discover nothing attractive. The king is a mild, good-humoured looking man, with nothing, but this indication of a kindly disposition, particularly striking either in his aspect, or deportment; and to judge from several favourable traits of character, which have discovered themselves, when he has acted for himself, I should be inclined to believe, that the grievances, of which his Protestant subjects, the Vaudois, complain, are to be attributed to others, rather than to himself. The Vaudois themselves are decidedly of this opinion; and never speak of the king personally, but in the language of respect and affection. On the nights that I visited the opera at Turin, I observed that there was but little notice taken of the royal party, which may be owing, in part, to their showing themselves so frequently in places of public resort. Every body rose at their entrance, but there was nothing expressive of a cordial or joyous reception; and perhaps this struck me the more forcibly, from the recollection of what I had witnessed the year before, at our own opera in London, when the King of England presented himself before a hearty English audience, who had been waiting with impatient anxiety for his appearance. I thought the magnificent chandelier, suspended over the pit, must have been shaken from its hold, under the acclamations with which the house rang, when George the Fourth made his first entrée in the royal box. How enviable must be the feelings of the sovereign, who listens to the honest applauses of his people; and who knows that he has merited them!

When kings reign by virtue of a Constitution, and in the spirit of it, they cannot fail of reigning in the hearts of their people. It is by Roman Catholic courtiers, that the divine right of kings has been principally asserted, and yet it cannot but have been noticed, that almost all the late revolutionary movements have been in Roman Catholic countries. Protestant subjects are generally less lavish of adulation, but not less faithful in the hour of trial; the truth of which has often been experienced by the kings of Sardinia. The late King of Sardinia was reminded of this, and requested by a British minister to ameliorate the condition of the Vaudois. He gave a quibbling answer: "Do you emancipate the Irish Catholics, and I will emancipate the Vaudois." It was rejoined, "We only beg of your Majesty to concede as much to the Protestants of the valleys, as has been conceded to the Roman Catholics of Ireland." The king was silent, but inexorable.

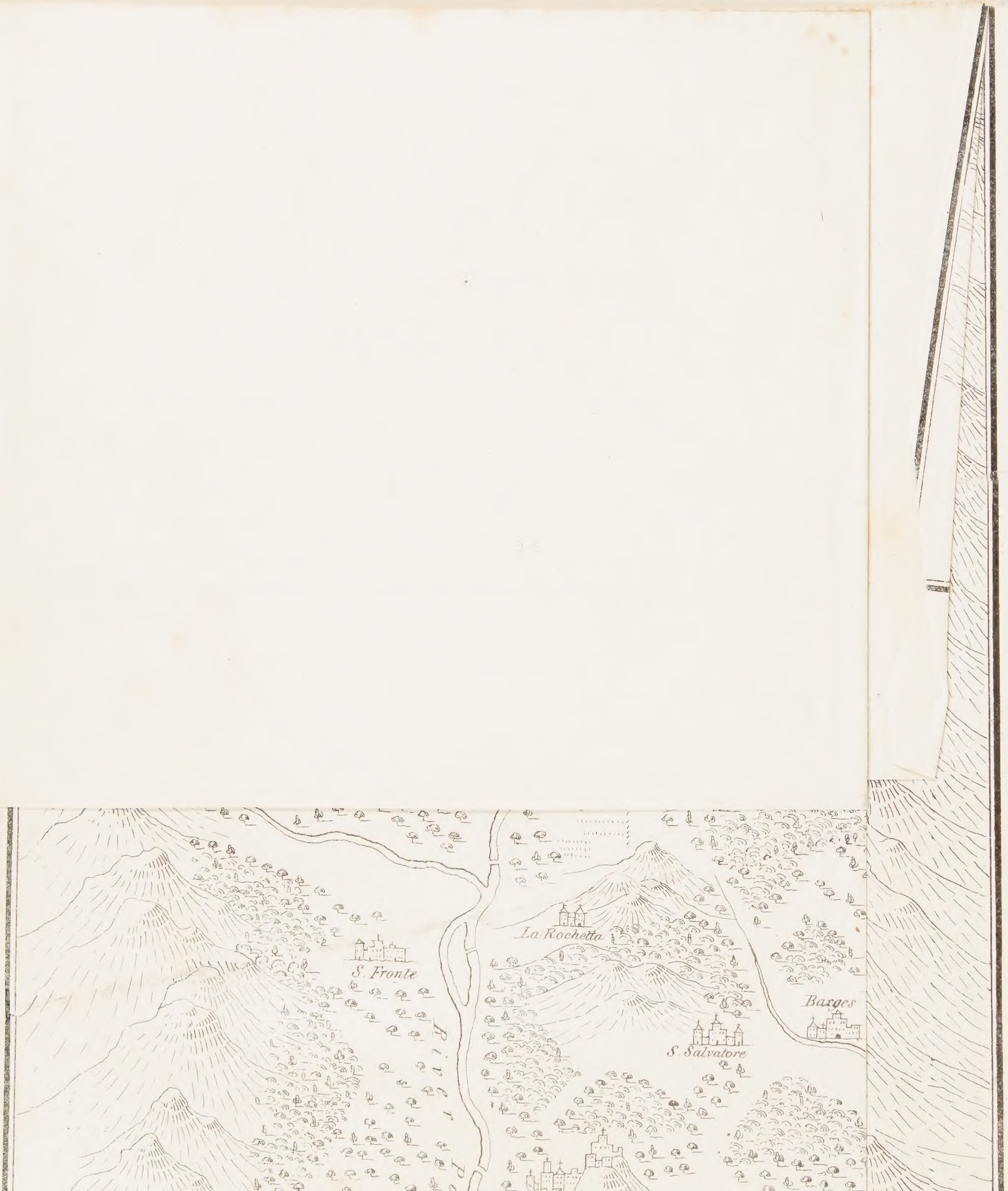
# MAP
of the
*THREE PROTESTANT VALLEYS OF*
# Piemont,
# LUCERNA, SAN MARTINO,
and
# PEROSA.



Scale.
1
2
3
4 Miles.
Col di Sestrieres
Sestrieres
Col de la Croix
M. Palavas
M. Bocchieri
il Pra Alpe
Fort Miraboco
Col d' Altries
M. Guinivert
Col di Gualiano
Prali
Balma
Col del Pis
Rodaretto
Balceglia
Macella
Laghi
Germanasca
Maneglia
Rocca Bianca
Valley of San Martino
FENESTRELLE
Valley of Pragela
The Clusone River
Mt. Viso
Visolet
Sea Bianca
Source of the Po
Arbandi
Bobbio
Sibaud
Subiasco
Valley of Lucerna
M. Friolante
Villaro
Mt. Vandalin
Perero
Traversa
Faetto
San Martino
Infernet Alpe
Onzino
Ostano
Rora
Fusina
River Po
Castelluzo
Prali del torno
La Vachera
Richaretta
Bouvilla
Villasecca
Col di Gilba
Bietone
Bonetta
Barricada
Marguerita
Ruins of Castle
Pont la Tour
Pomaretto
Ruins of a Barricade
Valley of the Clusone
Casiana
LA TORRE
Reumien
LUCERNA
Angrogna torrent
Angrogna
PEROSA
Pramol
San Giovanni
Pinasca
La Porte
Paranglietina
Bubiana
San Germano
S. Benito
Roccapiatta
Felone
S. Bartholomeo
Campiglione
Parostina
Valley of Perosa
La Rochetta
Bricherasio
S. Fronte
Bagnola
San Secondo
Le Porte
Abadia
Barges
S. Salvatore
River Pelice
The Clusone River
Garcigliana
PINEROLO
Cavour
Osasco
Revel

Printed at The Lithographic Press, 8 Pickett St. Strand.

B. R. Be… del.


La Rochetta
S. Fronte
River Po
Barges
S. Salvatore
Revel

Printed at The Lithographic Press, 8 Pickett St. Strand.

B. R. B[illegible] del$^{t}$

# CHAPTER IV.

*Leave Turin for the valleys—The Po—Face of the country—Irrigation—Pinerolo—Popish hospital—Infant stealing—Edict of Victor Amadeus—Defile between Pinerolo and Fenestrelle—Valley of the Clusone—Inn at Perosa—Excellent fare—Pomaretto—Mountain torrents—A Vaudois village—Presbytery of Pomaretto—Rodolphe Peyrani—Moderator of the Vaudois—His extreme poverty, and sufferings—Erudition of Peyrani—Interesting conversation—Pattern of Christian mildness—The moderator's library—Sold to purchase the necessaries of life—Episcopacy among the Vaudois—Reduced numbers of the Vaudois—Innovations—Waldensian Church—Church of England—Persecutions—The Protestant valleys of Piemont, the cradle of the Reformation—Wickliffe—Lollards—Doctrines of the Vaudois not Calvinistic—Peyrani and Napoleon—Anecdote—Napoleon's pension to the Vaudois—The pastor Rostain—His extreme poverty—Toilsome duties of the Vaudois clergy—British pension to the pastors of the Vaudois—The Count Truchess—Emperor Alexander—New hospital at La Torre—Letter from the valleys—Suspension of the royal pension—Collection for the Vaudois during the Protectorate—Oliver Cromwell establishes a fund for the Vaudois—King William III.—Noble character of Peyrani—Lord William Bentinck—Victor Emanuel, the late king—Anecdote—Ferdinand Peyrani, pastor of Pramol—Parting with Peyrani—Reduced condition of the Waldensian Church—Death of Peyrani—The moderator's son in poverty at Lausanne—Peyrani's admirable pamphlet—Anecdote.*

ON Saturday, January 11, we set out from Turin on our journey to the mountains. Our excellent friend, M. Vertu, had not only provided us with letters of introduction to some Vaudois families, but had the kindness to allow his son to accompany us, a most amiable and intelligent young man of about twenty years nued to be resorted to in the present age, if a royal ordinance of the following curious tenor did not confirm the truth of the complaints that have been made upon the subject. " We renew our orders to prevent the taking away of children, with the view of obliging them to embrace the Catholic religion ; and that those children who have been taken away may be restored. Those who, at the prescribed age (girls at ten, and boys at twelve) enter voluntarily into the hospital of Pinerolo, must be under the direction of the ecclesiastical judges : but no difficulty will be made in permitting the parents to see their children, provided that proper precautions be taken." This *indulgent* edict, wrung from the government, dated June 4th, 1794, and signed " Victor Amadeus," at a time, when the invasion of the French rendered it necessary for the King to conciliate his Protestant subjects, speaks volumes, and proves that abuses of the most horrible nature were tolerated as long as the Vaudois were the victims of them. Even now, melancholy enough is the condition of a child who can be persuaded to enter this asylum, either in sickness or destitution. The clause for the discreet admission of parents to see their children, under certain precautions, is virtually a bar to all that freedom of intercourse, without which there can be no true reciprocity of parental and filial affection.

From Pinerolo we took the Fenestrelle road, it being our first object to visit Pomaro, or Pomaretto, the parish of Rodolphe Peyrani, the venerable moderator or primate of the ancient Church of the Waldenses. After bearing to the west for two or three miles, the road takes a northerly direction, and follows the Clusone through the defile which is called the valley of Perosa. The contrast was striking between the fertile and champaign country on the other side of Pinerolo, and the bleak and rugged district through which we were travelling to Pomaretto. The rocks to our right were bare and black ; and their fantastic shapes, and the rude huts which were built at their base, for several miles, offered but little variety to the melancholy sameness of our drive. Some few groves of chesnuts and pasturages were seen at intervals. All were Roman Catholics on this side of the river. The Protestant villages were concealed from our view by the natural barriers, which rise in terrible and forbidding aspect on the western bank of the Clusone, and in many places serve to keep the valley in almost perpetual shade. So cold and so repulsive appeared the tract of country through which lies one of the most practicable passes that conducts from Piemont to France. The black mud of the road added to the general gloom of this savage defile, and made us consider it the most dismal of the valleys we had yet seen. In others, the mountains breaking into precipices, and the abruptness with which the topographical features change from one aspect to another, varied the scene enough to make even horrors not unpleasing; but here all was melancholy uniformity, and the slow pace at which we were obliged to move, rendered the stage of ten miles from Pinerolo to Perosa as tedious as if it were three times the distance.

At Perosa, where there are the ruins of a strong castle, which formerly commanded the valleys of the Clusone and San Martino, we stopped for about an hour, and called for refreshments at an inn whose cheerless appearance promised us fare corresponding with the journey. We were shewn into a cold bed-room, and had to wait some time before any fire was prepared to warm us; but when at length the cloth was laid, as good entertainment was put before us as we could desire. It consisted of two ducks, mutton-chops, omelets, and a dish of small birds roasted, in themselves a meal for an epicure. Two or three bottles of rich muscat wine finished the banquet, and a moderate charge sent us away well satisfied with the culinary accommodation of our hostess at Perosa. Her kind-heartedness and Christian charity pleased us even more than her good fare. When we enquired after the pastor, Rodolphe Peyrani, she spoke of him in terms of the highest respect, and regretted that so good a man should have to contend with poverty and illness at his advanced period of life. Her own priest, she said, could not display more Christian resignation than he had done.

We were obliged to leave our carriage at Perosa, and to proceed on foot to Pomaretto; with a young peasant as our guide, we set out, all impatience, to visit the first Vaudois village in the valley of Perosa. This valley extends to that of Pragela, which was formerly one of the Protestant valleys, is intersected by the valleys of San Martino, and is inserted in most of the old maps as La Valle di Clusone, because it is divided along its whole length by that river. The Protestants are confined to the western side of the Clusone. At the point where we crossed it, near the confluence of the Germanasca, it is an impetuous body of water, which divides itself into a variety of channels, and rushes over masses of rock that are brought down by the torrents from the mountains, and lie in strange confusion in every part of its bed. We could not have passed over less than half-a-dozen wooden bridges, in the space of about three hundred yards: some of them intended for the use of foot passengers only, and others thrown over the stream for mules and cattle.

After walking half an hour or more, the village of Pomaretto discovered itself, and seen as it was, in its wintry aspect, never did a more dreary spot burst upon the view. It is built upon a declivity, just where the mountains begin to encrease in height and number, with rocks above, and torrents below. There is such a scene of savage disorder in the immediate vicinity of Pomaretto, that one would imagine it had been effected by the most violent convulsions of nature; huge fragments of rock encumber the ground on all sides, and it seems as if the mountains must have been rent asunder to produce so much nakedness and desolation. The street which we slowly ascended was narrow and dirty, the houses, or rather cabins, small and inconvenient, and poverty, in the strictest sense of the word, stared us in the face at every step we took. In vain did we cast our eyes about, in search of some better looking corner, in which we might descry an habitation fit for the reception of the supreme Pastor of the Churches of the Waldenses. The street was every where no better than a confined lane. At length we stood before the *Presbytery* of M. Peyrani, for by this name the dwellings of the ministers are known. But in external appearance, how inferior to the most indifferent parsonages in England, or to the humblest manse in Scotland. Neither garden nor bower enlivened its appearance, and scarcely did it differ in construction or dimension from the humble cottages by which it was surrounded. The interior was not much better calculated to give us an idea of the *otium cum dignitate*, which usually appertains to the condition of dignitaries in the church; and had we not known it before, we should soon have discovered, that additional labour only distinguishes the appointment of moderator of the Vaudois.

We were received at the door by a mild, sensible, and modest-looking young man, dressed in faded black, to whom we communicated our wish of being introduced to M. Peyrani. He replied, that his father was very, very unwell, but would be happy to see any English gentlemen, who did him the honour of a visit. We were afraid that we might disturb the invalid, and therefore hesitated to intrude, until we had begged M. Vertu to see M. Peyrani first, and ascertain whether the sight of strangers would be agreeable. The answer was in our favour, and we were now conducted up a narrow stair-case, through a very small bed-room, whose size was still further contracted by several book-cases. This led into another bed-room, more amply provided still with shelves and books. The apartment was about fourteen feet square, low, and without any kind of decoration of paint or paper hanging. It was thick with dust; and the only attention to those *munditiæ vitæ*, to which we were in the habit of looking, were the sheets of the bed, than which nothing could be cleaner. At a small fire, where the fuel was supplied in too scanty a portion to impart warmth to the room, and by the side of a table covered with books, parchments, and manuscripts, sat a slender, feeble-looking old man, whose whole frame was bowed down by infirmity. A night-cap was on his head, and at first sight we supposed he had a long white beard hanging down upon his neck; but, upon his rising to welcome us, we perceived that it was no beard, but whiskers of a length which are not often seen, and which had a very singular effect. His dress consisted of a very shabby, time-worn, black suit, and white worsted stockings, so darned and patched, that it is difficult to say, whether any portion of the original hose remained. Over his shoulder was thrown what once had been a cloak, but now a shred only, and more like the remains of a horse-cloth, than part of a clerical dress. This cloak, in the animation of his discourse, frequently fell from his shoulders, and was replaced by his son with a degree of filial tenderness and attention extremely prepossessing.

The sickly-looking sufferer, in this humble costume, in this garb of indigence, was the moderator of the Vaudois; the successor of a line of prelates, whom tradition would extend to the Apostles themselves; the high-priest of a church, which is, beyond all shadow of doubt, the parent church of every Protestant community in Europe, and which centuries of persecution have not been able to destroy. It is indeed a vine, "which has stretched her branches to the sea, and her boughs unto the river:" but while her branches are flourishing, "the wild boar out of the wood doth root up the stem, and the wild beasts of the field devour it." And unless the same Providence which first planted this vine, and made room for it, shall turn again, and look down from heaven, and visit it, it must, it is feared, perish; for nothing short of the divine succours can enable men to bear up against the poverty, humiliation, and deprivations, to which most of the Vaudois clergy are exposed to this hour.

M. Peyrani was upwards of seventy-one years of age at the time we saw him; the whole of his income did not exceed 1000 francs, or about forty pounds a-year; and with this pittance he had been obliged to meet the demands of a family, the calls of charity, the incidental expences of his situation as moderator, and the additional wants of age, sickness, and infirmity. An accident, occasioned by the kick of a mule, had increased the ills of his condition. A large and prominent rupture, and an incurable weakness, were increased by his inability to procure surgical aid, as often as he required it. For two years he underwent excruciating pain; and had his means enabled him to obtain the medical assistance, which his case demanded, the malady might have been materially, if not effectually, alleviated.

The welcome which we received from our venerable host, was expressed with all the warmth and sincerity of one, whose kindly feelings had not yet been chilled by years or sufferings: and the manner in which it was delivered, displayed a knowledge of the world, and a fine tact of good breeding, which are not looked for in Alpine solitudes, or in the dusty study of a recluse. We were pre-disposed to respect his virtues and piety, and had been given to understand that he was a man of the first literary acquirements; but we did not expect to find the tone and manners of one, whose brows would do honour to the mitre of any diocese in Europe: nor did we know that he, who was now drooping in a state of the veriest penury, had been, during the French domination, one of the twenty-five members of the provisional government of Piemont. Such a reverse could never have been discovered from his complaints, for there was nothing of querulousness in any of his observations, nor did he once express himself with the least degree of bitterness upon the subject of his own grievances, or those of his community. That which we gathered from him upon these topics, was related more in the form of historical detail, than as matters which so materially concerned himself and connexions.

Our conversation was held generally in French; sometimes we addressed him in English, which he understood, but did not speak; but when I engrossed his discourse to myself, we spoke in Latin, as being the language in which we could not mistake each other, and affording the most certain medium of communication upon ecclesiastical subjects, where I was anxious to ascertain facts with precision. Nothing could be more choice or classical than his selection of words; and I was not more surprised by his fluency of diction, than by the extraordinary felicity with which he applied whole sentences from ancient poets, and even prose authors, to convey his sentiments. One or two of these I remember. In reply to an observation made by me, that if the state of the Vaudois church were sufficiently known, the English government might probably be induced to restore the pensions which were formerly given to the clergy, and withheld since the year 1797, he clasped his hands together, and thus expressed his hope that he might live long enough to see it:

> Oh mihi tam longæ maneat pars ultima vitæ,
> Spiritus [a].

When I asked some questions upon the subject of the lands, which were appropriated by the late imperial government to the

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[a] Virg. Ecl. iv. 53.

Protestant clergy, but have since been sequestered in favour of the Bishop of Pinerolo: he said it was true, that he and his brethren had been reduced to extreme poverty by this arrangement, which was totally unexpected, because it was hoped that the acts of the late government would not be rescinded, in so far as they regarded such equitable provisions. He spoke without any asperity, and mildly added:

> ——— Vivi pervenimus, advena nostri,
> Quod nunquam veriti sumus, ut possessor agelli
> Diceret: hæc mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni.
> Nunc victi, tristes, quoniam Fors omnia versat[b].

The manner in which he pronounced the last words was particularly moving; he dwelt upon the words *veteres* and *tristes*, as being peculiarly applicable to his own case, deprived, as he had been in his old age, of what would have constituted his maintenance and comfort.

M. Peyrani spoke with so much rapidity, and his thoughts followed each other in such quick succession, that he never suffered himself to be at a loss for words. If the Latin term did not immediately occur to him, he made no pause, but instantly supplied its place by a French or Italian phrase. This animation of manner had such an effect upon his whole frame, that very soon after we began to converse with him, the wrinkles seemed to fall from his brow, a hectic colour succeeded to the pallidness of his countenance, and the feeble and stooping figure which first stood before us, elevated itself by degrees, and acquired new strength and energy. In fact, while he was favouring me with a short history of himself, I might have forgotten that he had exceeded the usual limits of man's short span; and I must repeat, that it is impossible to admire sufficiently the Christian character of the individual, or of the church which he represented, when I recollect the meek resignation with which he submitted to his hard fate, and the forbearance he exhibited, whenever his remarks led him to talk of the vexatious and oppressive proceedings, which have never ceased to mark the line of conduct pursued by the Sardinian government, in regard to the churches of the Waldenses.

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[b] Virg. Ecl. ix. 2.

M. Peyrani's book-shelves were loaded with more than they could well bear; and when I noticed the number of the volumes which lay scattered about the room, or were disposed in order, wherever a place could be found for them, he told me, that if he were now in possession of all that once were his, the whole of his own, and the adjoining house, would be insufficient to contain them. He said, he had bought a great many himself; but the principal portion of his library was the accumulation of his father and grandfather, and of more distant ancestors; and expressed much regret that he could no longer display the folios, and curious old manuscripts, that had been handed down to him. I asked what had become of them. "They have been sold," he replied, with considerable emotion: for he had been compelled to part with them from time to time, to purchase clothes, and even food, for himself and family!!!

Upon my enquiring, whether there had not been formerly bishops in the Vaudois church, properly so called, he answered, "Yes; and I should now be styled bishop, for my office is virtually episcopal; but it would be absurd to retain the empty title, when we are too poor to support the dignity, and have little jurisdiction, but that which is voluntarily submitted to among ourselves: the term moderator[c] is therefore now in use with us, as being more consistent with our humiliation[d]. He immediately afterwards declared, that he did not desire a large income,

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[c] However inferior the title of Moderator may now be to that of Bishop, it was anciently considered of higher consequence and authority. When a synod or convocation of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, was assembled together to regulate ecclesiastical matters, a Moderator or Prolocutor was elected in the person of one

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of the senior or most respected Bishops, to preside over this council. Cyprian was Moderator of the Council of Carthage; Palmas, Bishop of Amastris, was Moderator of the Synod of Pontus; Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, was Moderator of a Synod of Asia Minor; and Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea; and Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, presided at a Synod in Palestine, under the same name. See Eusebius, lib. v. c. 23, 24.

[d] The episcopal succession and character were retained in such acknowledged purity for centuries after the establishment of the Vaudois church, as independent of Rome, that Commenius, the Bohemian Bishop, who wrote in 1644, states, that the Bohemian Separatists, in their anxiety to have their pastors ordained by prelates in regular succession from the Apostles, sent three of their preachers to "a certain Stephen, Bishop of the Vaudois; and this Stephen, with others officiating, conferred the vocation and ordination upon the three pastors, by the imposition of hands." This took place about 1450, and a century afterwards there were still Bishops in the Waldensian church; for in a confession of faith, presented to Francis I. King of France, in 1544, we find the following article: "Nous tenons cecy pour résolu parmi nous, que les *Evêques* et les pasteurs doivent être irreprehensibles dans leur doctrine et en leur meurs," &c.

Morland, in his "History of the Evangelical Churches of Piemont," has given (p. 72) a long chapter on their ancient discipline, the materials of which he professes to have extracted from "divers authentic manuscripts, written in their own language several hundreds of years before either Luther or Calvin." The following passages will be found applicable to the question of regular ordination.

Article II. concerning Pastors or Ministers. "Having good testimonials, and being approved, they are received with imposition, or laying on of hands. He that is received last ought to do nothing without the permission of him that was received before him, and in like manner the former ought to do nothing without the consent of his associate, that so all things may be done amongst us in good order. ——Amongst other privileges which God hath given to his servants, he hath given them this, to choose their Leaders, and to constitute Elders in their charges, according to the diversity of the work in the unity of Christ, which is clear by that saying of the Apostle in the Epistle to Titus, i. 5."

The original, in the language of the ancient Vaudois, stands thus, "eslegislan Regidors del poble, et Preires en li lors officis," and Morland, who had no great affection for prelatical institutions, appears to have put an interpretation which is less favourable to my hypothesis than the words admit. *Preires* ought to have and would not wish for more than 3000 francs a-year; but that, in the best times which he had enjoyed, his means were inadequate to his situation; and that, among other contingent expences, his correspondence with foreign Protestants was a heavy tax upon his purse.

M. Peyrani added another remark to his reasons why the title of bishop is dropped, and substituted by that of moderator: the Vaudois, or Protestants of the valleys, were formerly much more numerous than they are now; the persecutions of centuries have contributed to reduce their numbers and limitations in a most alarming degree; and whereas they once extended into the provinces of Susa and Saluzzo, and occupied all the mountainous regions of that of Pinerolo, they are now confined to three valleys, and thirteen parishes, in the latter province. So small a flock, he said, can hardly confer the *title of Bishop*, in its generally received sense, although the episcopal functions may be retained. It was evident that M. Peyrani was sincerely attached to the episcopal forms of church government; and I believe he spoke the sentiments of his brethren, as well as his own; but it must be confessed that his predilections led him to assign more importance to his own office, than his real jurisdiction, and the relaxed discipline of the churches of the valleys, would strictly warrant. Many circumstances have concurred to cause this relaxation, and more especially the necessity which has thrown the Vaudois upon Switzerland, for the education of such of their youth as are intended for holy orders. Formerly there was a college at Angrogna, where the candidates for ordination received their instruction; but since its demolition by the Catholics, and the sequestration of its funds, they are obliged to have

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been rendered more literally, by the term *Priests*, and *Regidors* should have been taken in the sense of church officers superior to Priests.

recourse to Geneva and Lausanne. To judge from the sentiments of their clergy, there would be no difficulty in restoring the ancient discipline, if this college could be re-established; but while their principal support is derived from Switzerland, it is not surprising if some of the leaven of that country has found its way among them.

At present, orders conferred at Lausanne or Geneva, are held good, after some confirmation on the part of their own moderator; but before the dreadful persecution of 1685, when the whole Protestant population were driven out of the country, the holy office was committed to none, except in one instance, which I shall presently state, but to those who had gone through all the examinations and necessary forms at home. The candidates were severely examined in Latin, Italian, and French; their lives and conversation were strictly scrutinized; and if the result was satisfactory, the moderator then proceeded to the ceremony of ordination in full synod. He first delivered an exhortation, next exacted the usual vows, and directing the pastor elect *to kneel before him, he laid his hands upon his head,* and implored the blessing and gifts of the Holy Spirit. He then raised him up; and, giving him the hand of fellowship, presented him as a minister to the church.

Two great changes had previously taken place in the Valleys in the year 1630. The one was in consequence of a terrible plague, which swept off three-fourths, or certainly not less than two-thirds, of the inhabitants; and spared two only, out of their thirteen pastors. Upon the venerable ministers, Gilles and Gros, who were already worn down by years and infirmities, devolved the care of all the churches of the Vaudois. They were obliged to have recourse to France and Geneva for a supply of Protestant clergy, but none could be found who were able to administer divine service in the Italian tongue, which had hitherto been the language of their Liturgy, although the patois of the country still continued to be spoken. It was necessary, then, either to be without pastors, or to have the service performed in French ; and as the ancient language of the Vaudois is a sort of dialect between French and Italian, the people soon became accustomed to the new formulary. This accounts for the first adoption of the Liturgy of Geneva.

The other change was the annexation of the Valleys to the crown of France, in the same year. The new government and the new Clergy produced many innovations contrary to the spirit of the former discipline of the Church, and among others was the neglect of the moderator's annual visitation. " La discipline," says Leger, " ne s'y exerça plus avec la même vigueur et rigueur qu' auparavant : Messieurs les nouveaus Pasteurs accoûtumés à une conduite plus indulgente, la trouvans encore trop sévère, sur tout ne voulurent-ils plus souffrir que le modérateur des Eglises des Vallées, qui avec son adjoint, et un ancien à ce député, alloit toûjours visiter une fois l'année toutes les Eglises, donnant, ou luy même, ou son adjoint, à châcune un préche, et luy faisant les remonstrances qu'il jugeoit nécessaires, selon les deffaus qu'il y avoit remarqué, et s'informent exactement, et de la doctrine, et des déportemens du Pasteur du lieu [e]."

After we had been some little time with M. Peyrani, he produced a packet of papers and parchments, which he opened in a sort of fidgetty haste, and appeared anxious to submit to our inspection. Dust, damp, and mould, had discoloured, and almost obliterated the characters in many of them, but they proved to be family memorials, and he at length succeeded in selecting those which he was most solicitous to lay before us. One paper contained the letters of orders of his maternal grandfather, who was ordained by Dr. Robinson, Bishop of London, in the year 1707, or 1717, I forget which, and licensed by the same prelate as tutor in a nobleman's family. The others, were some letters from the Bosanquets, a mercantile family of the first distinction in London, to whom he is distantly related. He was interested, he said, in these documents, not on his own account, because time was advancing rapidly with an old man like himself, but for his children's sake; they were what they might carry into the world as proofs of their connection with England. He did not intimate as much, but perhaps he had hopes, that some of us might have the opportunity, upon our return to our own country, of recalling to the recollection of his more affluent relations, in England, who are eminent for their liberality, that a most deserving branch of their family is sinking under the weight of adversity, beyond the means of extricating itself.

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[e] LEGER, p. 207.

I cannot forget, nor must I omit to notice, the evident satisfaction M. Peyrani felt in explaining how closely the doctrines of the Vaudois Church assimilate to those of the Church of England. He pointed to the works of Tillotson, Barrow, and Taylor, which still enriched his book-case, and declared that every time he read them, he was more and more gratified by the light which these English divines had thrown upon truths, for their adherence to which his poor brethren had been so often obliged to conceal themselves in their mountain fastnesses. " But remember," said the old man, with conscious and becoming pride, " remember, that you are indebted to us for your emancipation from papal thraldom. We led the way. We stood in the front rank, and against us the first thunderbolts of Rome were fulminated. The baying of the blood-hounds of the inquisition was heard in our valleys before you knew its name. They hunted down some of our ancestors, and pursued others from glen to glen, and over rock and mountain, till they obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries. A few of these wanderers penetrated as far as Provence and Languedoc, and from them were derived the Albigenses, or heretics of Albi. The province of Guienne afforded shelter to the persecuted Albigenses. Guienne was then in your possession. From an English province our doctrines found their way into England itself, and your Wickliffe [f] preached nothing more than what had been advanced by the ministers of our valleys, four hundred years before his time." "Whence," continued my aged informant, with encreased animation, "came your term *Lollards* [g], but from a Waldensian Pastor, Walter Lollard, who flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century," and the Walloons of the Low Countries were nothing more than a sect, whose name is easily found in the corruption of our own. As for ourselves, we have been called heretics, and Arians, and Manicheans, and Cathari, but we are like yourselves, a Church built up in Christ, a Church with the discipline and regular administration of divine service which constitutes a Church [h]. We have adhered to the pure tenets of the Apostolic age, and the Roman Catholics have separated from us. Ours is the Apostolical succession, from which the Roman hierarchy has departed, rather than ourselves. We are not only a Church by name and outward forms, but a Church actually interested by faith in Jesus Christ the corner stone."

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[f] Thomas Walden, who wrote against the doctrine of Wickliffe, says, "C'est la doctrine des Vaudois, qui s'etoit glissée des quartiers de France," &c.

Cardinal Bellarmine bears the same testimony: "Wicliff n'a pas pu enrichir la doctrine des Vaudois."—LEGER, p. 176.

[g] Mr. Southey, in his "Book of the Church," has followed erroneous authority in his observations upon the Lollards, as far as the derivation of their name goes. Speaking of Wickliffe, he says, "His proselytes became very numerous, and obtained the name of Lollards, which had been given in the Low Countries to the persecuted Franciscans, and other enthusiasts, from their practice of singing hymns, *lollen*, or *lullen*, in one of the old German dialects, signifying to sing, as a mother sings when she lulls her babe." Vol. I. p. 344. In the Appendix, No. 13, the name of Lollard will be found among those of distinguished Waldensian *Barbes* or Pastors.

[h] See ancient Catechism of the Waldenses, given by Morland, p. 79.

"*Q*. Wherefore dost thou know the Church of Christ?

"A. By the Ministers lawfully called, and by the people participating in truth of the Ministry."

M. Peyrani then went to his book-shelves, and produced the evidence of Leger to prove the correctness of his assertions, and turned to the chapter in which the author, having devoted five long folio pages to the discussion, thus sums up his arguments. "Cette doctrine Vaudoise se trouvant donc suffisamment justifiée par les Lutheriens, aussi bien que par les Calvinistes, et même par les Papistes, et par eus tous reconnué si eloignée des sentimens Heretiques, et des Manichéens, et des Ariens, et des Cathares, il ne sera pas necessaire que je m'y estende d'avantage[i]."

I ventured to ask M. Peyrani if the Vaudois clergy urged the doctrine of absolute predestination and election. He replied that these nice points of controversy were not often discussed in their pulpits, and that for his own part, he had never given his assent to the belief in absolute predestination. "If God infallibly saves some, and as infallibly rejects others, I do not see what is the use of his laws," was one of his remarks.

I mentioned Calvin. "Calvin," said he, "was a good man, I am inclined to think, though I cannot account for his judicial murder of Servetus. He desired to be thought a faithful servant of God, but many of his tenets convey a strange notion of the Almighty's attributes."

I also took the liberty of observing to M. Peyrani, that the close intercourse between the Vaudois students and candidates for holy orders, and the ministers of the Genevan Church rendered it an object of apprehension, lest they might become tainted with the Socinian infection of Geneva. He rejected the idea with considerable energy, assured me that the doctrine of the Trinity[k] was still preserved in all its purity by the whole of his community, and shewed me an old Catechism, which he trusted would always form the basis of their belief. Some few of the questions and answers on this head are very simple.

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[i] Leger, p. 131.

"You say, that you believe God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost to be three persons. You have three Gods then?"

"No, I have not three."

"But you have named three."

"Yes, as far as relates to the distinction of the persons, but not in regard to the essence of the Divinity."—"Ma non per rason de la essentia de la Divinità," are the words in the ancient language of the Vaudois.

Upon a question as to the learning and acquirements of the Vaudois clergy, M. Peyrani lamented that, not being able to finish their education at home, the youth, who were intended for holy orders, were obliged to submit to the inconvenience and expence of going to the college of Lausanne, in Switzerland, but said that they returned in general well stored with scholastic and useful information. His own son, he said, would shortly go there, if he could raise the funds necessary to support the charges of so distant a journey.

Talking of the present and late government of Piemont, the good old moderator drew no comparisons to the disadvantage of the former, but only remarked that Napoleon had done the poor Protestants good and harm: good, in that he had placed them upon a footing with the Catholics, and equalized their condition in the state with the rest of the subjects of the empire; and harm, in that the privileges then extended to them only served now to make them more sensible of their present grievances. This subject led to the audience which M. Peyrani had with the late Emperor of France, when he formed part of a deputation who were charged with an address to him.

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[k] "It deserves to be noticed that in their exposition of the Apostles' Creed the Waldensian reformers give us that well known text in 1 John v. 7., as a proof of the doctrine of the Trinity. They were, it seems, perfectly satisfied of its authenticity, and most probably at that time had never heard of any suggestion to the contrary."—MILNER.

Buonaparte noticed M. Peyrani immediately, and accosted him in a style of unusual condescension, and even respect.

*N.* You are one of the Protestant clergy?

*P.* Yes, Sire, and the moderator of the Vaudois Church.

*N.* You are schismatics from the Roman Church?

*P.* Not schismatics, I hope, but separatists from scruples of conscience, on grounds that we consider to be Scriptural.

*N.* You have had some brave men among you. But your mountains are the best ramparts you can have. Cæsar found some trouble in passing your defiles with five legions. Is Arnaud's La Rentrée Glorieuse correct?

*P.* Yes, Sire, believing our people to have been assisted by Providence.

*N.* How long have you formed an independent Church?

*P.* Since the time of Claude, Bishop of Turin, about the year 820.

*N.* What stipend have your Clergy?

*P.* We cannot be said to have any fixed stipend at present.

*N.* You used to have a pension from England?

*P.* Yes, Sire, the kings of Great Britain were always our benefactors and protectors till lately. The royal pension is now withheld, because we are your majesty's subjects.

*N.* Are you organized?

*P.* No, Sire.

*N.* Draw out a memorial, and send it to Paris. You shall be organized immediately.

In consequence of the emperor's order, the Vaudois clergy were enrolled with the clergy of the empire, and lands were allotted for their provision, which yielded 1000 francs yearly to each of the parochial pastors; and in addition to this maintenance, 200 francs a-year were paid to them from the treasury, for forwarding annually to the government certain copies of registers, and population returns. At the restoration of his Sardinian Majesty they were deprived of both these payments, and in failure of these resources, the families of several of the pastors were reduced for a time to such extreme necessity, as to depend upon the charity of their neighbours for subsistence. The sufferings of one of the Clergy, and his seven children, were such as the veriest pauper in England does not experience, and to every stranger who visits the valleys, the name of Alexander Rostain, Pastor of Ville-seche, or Villa-secca, in the Valley of San Martino, is mentioned as that of a Minister, who has faithfully discharged his duty as a parochial Clergyman, and Secretary of the Synod, in spite of trials severe enough to bend the firmest mind.

M. Rostain's parish consists of the two villages of Ville-seche, or Villa-secca and San Martino, and the hamlets of Faetto, Richaretto, Bovilla, and Traversa. He has more Catholics in his parish than in any other, which not only exposes him to more vexatious proceedings of every sort, but renders the number of those who would contribute to his occasional assistance still less. The principal villages are on the north-side of the Germanasca torrent; but Faetto and Richaretto are situated on the southern side: all are detached from each other, and many of the cottages are perched upon the brows of the mountains.

This will give a pretty good idea of the arduous duties this exemplary pastor has to perform, of his difficulty in visiting the greater proportion of his flock during the inclement seasons, and the fatigue of moving from one hamlet to another, when his poverty, and the nature of the country, oblige him to go on foot. In the winter, he is often in danger of perishing of cold, of being lost in the snow, or carried away by those terrible avalanches and inundations, which are not uncommon in this mountainous region; and in the summer his labours are almost endless, from having to preach upon the mountains, to part of his flock, who leave the valleys, and take up their residence in their châlets, as long as they can find pasturage for their cattle. In fact, none but those who have been among them, can imagine what are the toils and deprivations of the Vaudois clergy; not one of whom has a population to attend to of less than seven or eight hundred; and these, from the sterility of the soil, spread over a great extent of mountain and valley not easy of access.

In consequence of the urgent application of the Prussian and Belgian ministers, the king was, after a while, persuaded to take into consideration the very distressed state of these exemplary men, and to allow them a pension of 500 francs each. There is also a small charge upon each commune, varying from 100 francs to 140 francs, towards their maintenance: the Dutch government allows 100 francs yearly to each of the two senior pastors, and 75 francs each to three who are next in age, and the pension of about 300 francs annually to every one of the thirteen clergy, from the national grant[k] of 1768, is now regularly received from

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[k] " VAUDOIS CLERGY.

" In the year 1768, His Majesty was graciously pleased to grant his Royal Letters Patent, in favor of the Protestants of the Vaudois Churches, in the valleys of Piemont, to empower them to solicit the contributions of well-disposed persons, ' to enable them to maintain the Ministers, Churches, Schools, and Poor, which

England. Thus 1040 francs a-year, with the use of the presbytery, or parsonage-house, is the utmost fixed and certain income, upon which any of these poor ministers have to depend. They have no fees for burials, baptisms, or marriages; nor have they any allowance made on account of the annual registers or returns, for which the French government paid them additionally 200 francs yearly.

If it were not for the occasional bounty which they receive from Switzerland, Prussia, and the Netherlands, it would be impossible for the ministerial office to be supplied. The former contributes 600 francs towards the annual support of four students at Lausanne; and in 1820, the sum of 4650 francs was remitted from Holland in aid of the schools, and widows of the clergy. The King of Prussia is said to have lately presented 10,000 francs towards the general support of the schools, clergy, and widows of clergy; and the Emperor of Russia has given the same sum in aid of a new hospital, which is to be built at La Torre.

Of all their benefactors, the Vaudois are most indebted to the

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they were not able to support in any tolerable manner.' His Majesty was also pleased to direct, that the amount of this charitable collection should be paid into the hands of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and be by them invested in government securities, the interest of which should be appropriated to the religious uses of the Protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Piemont. In obedience to these directions, the Treasurer was empowered to receive the contributions, and carry into effect the gracious designs of His Majesty; since which period, annual stipends have been regularly paid to thirteen Pastors of the valleys of Piemont, independently of certain small allowances to the widows of the deceased Ministers. By the accumulation of the excess of interest, and other gratuities, the capital sum has been raised to 10,000*l.* 3 per cent. bank annuities, which has enabled the Society to extend the gross amount of the salaries to 292*l.* per annum, for which sum the thirteen Pastors draw upon the Treasurer."—See Abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Prussian Ambassador at Turin, the Count Truchess[1], who is incessant in his endeavours to serve them ; and whenever importunity and zeal can avail, he is sure to succeed. I was informed of one kind office which he did, which will not soon be eradicated from the memory of the individual whom he relieved from his embarrassment; or of the little flock, whose minister he restored to them. Among other laws in their favour, enacted by the French government, which the King of Sardinia repealed at his restoration in 1814, was that which rendered the Protestants capable of enjoying public employment, and of rising to rank in the army. The royal edict of May 21, 1814, reduced them to all the degradations to which they had been obliged to submit in former times. They cannot rise in civil employment; they cannot practise in the learned professions; and they cannot be promoted to the rank of commissioned officers: but all are liable to serve as common soldiers, and none are exempt from military conscription; not even the clergy. M. Peyrot, the pastor of Rora, was drawn in the conscription of 1821 : in vain he urged his sacred character, and pastoral duties. His remonstrances were of no use; he was too poor to purchase a substitute, and orders of a most peremptory nature arrived for his joining his regiment, as a private soldier, immediately. The interposition of Count Truchess was prayed for, and obtained. M. Peyrot was released, not as a clergyman, but with a pretended understanding, on the part of the war-office, that he was beyond the age prescribed for military service.

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[1] In a letter, which I have lately received from one of my Vaudois correspondents, I found the following grateful acknowledgment of this excellent nobleman's attention to the interest of a people, who stand so much in need of protection. "The very worthy count, General de Truchess, the Prussian Ambassador, employs all his great influence in favour of the Vaudois, who, since the Stewarts and Trevors, have never had so powerful a protector. He has obtained a very liberal subscription from the Emperor of Russia, for an hospital for the Vaudois, which is forwarding rapidly. The ground for the house, the garden, and vigne, are already purchased, at the distance of about half a mile from La Torre, on the road to the church. If you can insert in your book the gratitude of the Vaudois to this generous protector, and to the Emperor of Russia, you will greatly oblige us."

It is a melancholy task to have to add, that serious doubts are entertained whether this excellent work can be brought to a completion. The funds for the erection and support of the hospital must be materially increased by liberal contributions from abroad, or the design will fail.

M. Peyrani himself, and afterwards M. Bert, the pastor of La Torre, searched all their accounts in my presence, to see what succours had been rendered to the Vaudois on the part of England, independent of the pension arising from the national grant. Every benefaction and service is carefully recorded in books kept by the moderator, the moderator adjoint, and the secretary: but some Bibles from the Bible Society, some books from a few generous individuals, and two hundred pounds from the Baptist Society, were all that appeared under the head of British bounty.

Of the royal pension, to which Napoleon alluded in his conference with M. Peyrani, no part whatever has been received since the year 1797: it was suppressed by the British government when Piemont became subject to France, and has not been restored with the legitimate dynasty. This pension proceeded, if I have been rightly informed, from a grant of William and Mary, encreased by a bequest of Queen Mary.

The hardship of being deprived of a pension, amounting to 400 francs a-year, which had been enjoyed for more than a hundred years, is rendered the more insupportable, because it is considered a right rather than a benefaction, and claimable upon every principle of equity. I was shewn, by M. Peyrani, a copy of an order in council, held at Westminster, under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, a transcript of which is in the hands of almost every pastor in the three valleys; and, upon the strength of which, they partly found their claim to the pension in question. The collection alluded to, amounted to more than 38,000*l.* of which upwards of 16,000*l.* was put out to interest.

" Rapport ayant esté fait a Monsieur le Commissaire par le comitè des affaires des pauvres Eglises des Vallées de Piemont, qu'ils avoient esté bien informés par Monsieur Morland de l'état des dites Vallées, &c. il a estè arresté que l'argent qui reste de la collecte faite pour elles, sera employé comme s'ensuit pour un etablissement ferme et ordinaire à l'avenir.

" A Monsieur Jean Leger, Modérateur, qui a toûjours agi des Vallées, 100 livres sterlins.

" A huit Ministres demeurans sur les terres du Duc de Savoy 320 livres, sterlins.

" A trois Ministres demeurans sur terre de France en val Peyrouse, 30 livres sterlins.

" Au Maître d'Ecole génerale, 20 livres sterlins.

" A dix Maîtres d'Ecoles particulieres, 60 livres sterlins.

" A trois Maîtres d'Ecole en Val Perouse, 9 livres sterlins.

" A quatre Etudians en Theologie, ou en Médecine, 40 livres sterlins.

" Au Médecin, 20 livres sterlins.

" Au Chirurgien, 10 livres sterlins.

" En tout annuellement, 609 livres sterlins.

" Signé. SCOBELL. CLERC DU CONSEIL."

According to Morland's account, the collection amounted to 38,241*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*; and of this, 9501*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* was immediately disposed of in remitting sums of money, bedding, linen, and provisions, to the distressed sufferers, in the course of the year 1655. A commission was appointed for the management of the rest; and, in the course of the two following years, 12,550*l.* was distributed in the three valleys. There then remained upwards of 16,000*l.*; of which Morland, who was himself the principal commissioner, speaks thus, (p. 596.) " As for the monies that yet remain in the hands of the treasurers, the good people of this nation are desired to believe, that it hath hitherto been his highness's exceeding great care, that no part of the collected monies might be distributed or delivered, but by the advice, and through the hands, of persons of known honour and fidelity: so likewise it shall be his constant endeavour, that what yet remains, shall be improved for the best advantage of those for whom it was solely intended. For which end and purpose his highness, after mature consultation with his commissioners at home, and his public ministers abroad, hath already caused some part thereof to be put out to interest in sure hands, (but so that it may be called in upon urgent occasion); and for the future will take such resolutions, as the necessities of these poor people, and the circumstances of their condition, shall require."

It is manifest from the agreement of these two accounts, the one of which is to be found in Leger's, and the other in Morland's History, that a permanent fund was raised, during the protectorate, for the annual relief of the Vaudois.

It is little to the credit of Charles the Second, that he sequestrated, or rather abolished, this fund; and that all the pathetic appeals, and pressing remonstrances, of the poor Vaudois, could not persuade him to restore it. His only answer was, "that he did not consider himself bound by any of the engagements of an usurper and tyrant, nor responsible for his debts."

James the Second could not be expected to pay any attention to the claims of Protestants; but William and Mary restored the pension, or at least established a new one, and were the constant friends of this oppressed community. King William gave the celebrated Henri Arnaud the commission of colonel in one of his own regiments. The commission itself, dated May 14, 1691, signed "William," and counter-signed "Nottingham," is still preserved in the family of Appia, at La Torre.

It was with extreme regret we witnessed the approach of the hour, which told us we must take leave of the venerable Peyrani. The good-humour, cheerfulness, and resignation of the old man, his perfect recollection of events and conversations which took place years ago, his profound erudition and general information, lent a deep and peculiar interest to his discourse. My young companions were riveted with attention. He appeared to them like a being of a different order to what they had been used to see: all that they heard and saw had more the air of romance than reality. The little window of the room opened upon the wild mountain scenery of Pomaretto; the roar of the distant torrents was heard through the casement; and the impression of the whole scene was so much the greater from the contrast between the elevated character of the noble old man, and the circumstances in which he was placed. Poverty within, and desolation without, formed a dark and striking back-ground to the portrait of the philosophic minister, whose lips teemed with eloquence, and whose mind was stored with all the riches of the most intellectual society. The looks of my friends, as they wandered from the window to the moderator, sufficiently told me what was passing within their breasts; and they did not escape the notice of M. Vertu, who watched with an enquiring eye, to observe what impression the aged moderator of his church would make upon the strangers. Holding him in the utmost reverence himself, he was all anxiety that we should do the same; and could not disguise his feelings of delight at every mark of respect, which we paid to the sacred representative of this primitive Christian community.

Before we parted, I looked several times earnestly round the room, that I might carry away with me every possible recollection of the chamber in which Rodolphe Peyrani was likely to finish his days. The ordinary and antique furniture, and the prints which hung upon the walls, were all objects of interest; and some of them illustrated the character of the man. In the centre, and directly over the fire-place, was the moderator's diploma, presented to him by the Royal Academy of Turin. On one side of the diploma was George the Fourth, taken when he was Prince of Wales: on the other, the King of Sardinia; for no sufferings or injustice done to him, could efface the loyal principles of M. Peyrani. Several Kings of Prussia, Isaac Newton, Luther, and Calvin, occupied another place; and the Duke of Wellington, and Lord William Bentinck, were in a very conspicuous situation. The good man pointed to the latter, and spoke of him with much gratitude. "If any thing could have been done for the Vaudois, Lord William would have effected it," he said; "but the restored king was deaf even to his intercessions."

The British general naturally conceived that he, who had been instrumental in re-placing his Majesty upon the throne of his ancestors, had some pretensions to be heard in favour of subjects, who professed the same religion as his own sovereign and himself. He took the earliest opportunity of urging their suit; and at Genoa, before the king could even set foot in the hereditary dominions to which the British arms had restored him, and while he was yet under the protection of a British escort, Lord William Bentinck most earnestly pleaded for the oppressed churches of the valleys. The king listened to the eloquent and feeling appeal with worse than indifference. His determination, most probably, was already made; for in four days afterwards, and on the morning after he had taken possession of his palace at Turin, the ungrateful monarch issued an edict, by which he dispossessed the Vaudois of all that they had enjoyed during his dethronement; and put many vexatious decrees in force, which had been proclaimed against them by his bigoted and intolerant predecessors.

Victor Emanuel, the late king, is but just gathered to his fathers. The Vaudois never speak with any bitterness even of those, who have used them the most unfairly; and his death was announced to me by one of my friends in the valleys, with an observation which does honour to the kindness of his heart. "On ne lui a connu d'autre defaut, que d'être trop bon et trop crédule, de sorte que tous avoient raison, mais plus particulièrement le dernier venu."

As M. Peyrani followed us feebly down stairs, he shewed us the door of an apartment which had never been opened, he told us, since the day on which his brother had been carried out of it, to be consigned to the grave. I asked what brother, and the answer was a momentary shock. It was Ferdinand Peyrani, the pastor of Pramol. It was like hearing the knell of a dear friend. Ferdinand Peyrani was the first person who interested me in the history of the Vaudois. It was his letter, addressed to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, which directed my attention to them, and occasioned this excursion to their Alpine retreats. He was one of the pastors to whom I felt so anxious to be introduced, and this was the first news of his being no more. His death was hastened by the scurvy, a disorder increased by poverty and want.

At the door of his humble presbytery the aged moderator wrung our hands, and said farewell with every symptom of regret at parting. He stood at the threshold, watching our departing steps, and the last sight that I had of his long grey locks, floating in the wind, left an impression that will not soon be removed. I think it is Johnson who says, that we can rarely see anybody, and part with him, under the belief that we are never to meet again, without some emotion. I am sure nobody could take leave, as we did, of M. Peyrani, with the certainty of seeing him no more, without being sensibly affected. His son accompanied us to the edge of the torrent, and there we said adieu to him.

Such was our visit to the successor of the bishops of the purest Church in Italy, whose necessities were such, that we felt bound, by a sacred sense of duty, to run the hazard of wounding those feelings of pride, which every man of sensibility must retain, even amid the most urgent poverty, by pressing upon his acceptance a heart offering for the purchase of a few of those comforts, which his age and infirmities required. I have had many struggles, before I could make up my mind as to the propriety of stating this circumstance, and nothing could have induced me to do it, but the persuasion that it will put the case in the strongest light, and shew at once the deplorable situation to which many of these excellent pastors are reduced. He could not have presumed to proffer, nor would the venerable moderator have condescended to accept the assistance of private individuals like ourselves, if it had not been a very timely succour: and certainly the circumstance never could have appeared in print, but with the object of drawing attention to the wants of a people, who have been too much overlooked by those who have the means of aiding them.

Who knows but, as the flood of time rolls on, some successor of the primate of England may be reduced to the same condition; that the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury may no longer be filled by a mitred prelate, that the functions and arduous duties may outlive the well appointed dignity of the sacred office, and that some humble pastor, like Rodolphe Peyrani, with the empty title of Bishop, may be obliged to the compassion of strangers for temporary relief. I am only imagining a fatal recurrence of what may happen again. The visible and Episcopal Church of England was once dwindled down to a few faithful adherents of Charles the Second, who formed his little court, and more than shared his need. May Heaven avert a second such blow, and may the honoured members of the English hierarchy continue to exert themselves, as they have hitherto done, to preserve the remnant of a Church, from which their own pure Establishment derives most of its doctrines !

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Reader, the sufferings of Rodolphe Peyrani are at an end. He died about three months after our interview with him. His spirit could no longer bear up against a complication of maladies and sorrows, and now, all that I remember of him is literally like a dream that is past, or a tale that is told. His death was communicated to me in a letter from one of my Vaudois friends, M. Bert, the pastor of La Torre. Its simple eulogy does honour both to the writer, and to him of whom it was written.

" Dans la supposition que vous n'avez pas entretenir de relation avec d'autres personnes de ce pays, c'est à moi un triste devoir de vous annoncer que nous avons perdu M. Peyrani, Modérateur, depuis le fin d'Avril. C'est dans son genre une perte irréparable."

The father is happily gone to his rest, but it is painful to speak of his son, of that excellent young man whom we were all so disposed to esteem. He is now studying, preparatory to taking orders, at Lausanne, and existing upon a pittance which is not enough for the necessaries of life. I heard of him lately. He was invited to the house of an English family, but his garb was so indifferent that he could not accept the invitation, until a fellow student had the kindness to lend him his clothes for the day !

An anecdote, in illustration of the talents of the late Moderator Peyrani, of his useful application of them, and the obscurity in which they were buried, must conclude my melancholy narrative.

Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi.

A few years ago a Catholic Curè, of Geneva, wrote a pamphlet in defence of the adoration of saints, and image worship. It was much admired, had a great sale, and was thought by the friends of the Curè to be unanswerable. The Protestants of Geneva were burning to see a reply to this able tract, but none appeared, to the disappointment and mortification of every good Lutheran and Calvinist. Just at the crisis of its popularity, Mr. Lowther, the author of " Brief Observations on the present State of the Waldenses," happened to be on his visit to the Valleys, and in an interview with M. Peyrani, expressed his regret that no answer had been made to this redoubtable pamphlet. The moderator drew some papers from his desk, and shewed Mr. Lowther that he himself had drawn up a reply.

" But why have you not published it ?" it was asked.

" Because I have not the means. I cannot print it at my own expence, and know of nobody who will undertake it."

Mr. Lowther begged, and obtained consent to take charge of the MS. and to send it to the press.

It was printed, had a rapid run, and was so admirably well written, was so convincing, so keen and cutting, that the Catholic polemic bought up all the remaining unsold pamphlets of his own, out of shame. Mr. Lowther assured me that he was unable to buy a single impression, though he offered a louis for one, when he wanted to have it inserted in a volume of miscellaneous articles, and that he was obliged to borrow one, and to have it *written* out in the place of a printed copy [o].

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[o] " Lettre de Ferrari à M. Cellerier," was the title of the first pamphlet, and " Réponse à la Lettre de M. Ferrari, Curè du Grand Sacconex, par un Protestant," was the title of the second.

## CHAPTER V.

*Leave Pomaretto—Alpine scenery—Pinerolo—Ancient inn—Excursion to the Valley of Lucerna—Mount Viso—Intolerance—Anecdote—Vaudois Heroism—Anecdote—Patriarchal Simplicity—Church of San Giovanni—Ludicrous Bigotry—Lovely vale of San Giovanni—Beautiful Landscape—La Torre—Too frequent intermarriages—Church of La Torre—Its romantic situation—M. Bert—Attended service in the Church—Monumental inscriptions—Peasantry—Village inn and accommodation—Murderous plot against the Protestants—M. Odetti—The plot—Fanaticism—Rendezvous of conspirators—General Godin—March of the Vaudois soldiers for the preservation of their families—Threatened by the torrents—Vesper bell, signal of destruction—Work of assassination—The assassins—Retribution—Injustice—General Zimmerman—Immunities and privileges granted to Vaudois—Grievances of the Vaudois—Absurd restrictions—Imposts—Disqualifications—Agriculture—Trade—Laughable mistake.*

After our most interesting visit to Pomaretto we returned to Perosa in that serious and meditative mood which the nature of our enquiries was calculated to produce. The obscurity of evening was encreased by the masses of rock that projected above and around, and every object corresponded with the dreariness of the scenery, and the gloom that affected us.

* * * "At every step,
Solemn and slow, the shadows blacker fell,
And all was awful listening gloom around."

As we passed one of the insecure bridges that are thrown across the torrent, we met a string of mules, whose cautious steps reminded us, that it is not inconvenience only which attends a traveller in this wild and rugged region, but that perils also wait upon his path, and that nature is too sparing of her bounty, in the valley of the Clusone, to suffer its inhabitants to provide against more than the absolute necessities of the hour. A few loose planks formed the largest of the bridges which connect Pomaretto and Perosa. Before next winter they will most likely be washed away. The furnace of a smelting house was blazing as we passed it: its strong glare in the darkness of the night served to discover, and to set off some of the savage features of this rude glen, and seeing them, as we did, to perfection, we could not feel surprised that the Alps should furnish materials for so many tales and romances, when they present such outlines to the eye, which the imagination may fill up with all that can inspire wonder or terror.

We returned to and slept at Pinerolo, at an inn or hotel which must once have been the residence of some bold baron, but has been long since converted into an humble designation. A large court-yard serves now for the receptacle of carts and other vehicles, a gallery runs round the building, and opens into several corridors, which communicate with large and dreary apartments; some gilded wainscoating, and the remains of what were once ornamental cornices, proclaim the departed grandeur of other days. The kitchen is an immense and vaulted chamber, the ceiling and walls of which have not been whitened for years; it resounded when we walked across it, as if it were constructed over a range of subterraneous passages. We had a capital supper, and among other things a large dish of the very small fish, a minute species of eel, which is considered so delicious in Piemont, and some of the muscat wine, which pleased us so much at Perosa; but this good cheer did not reconcile us to what followed. Upon asking for our bed-rooms, we were told that we were to sleep where we had supped. There were but two beds, and these it was thought afforded ample accommodation for *five* gentlemen. For a length of time we were scarcely belived, when we refused to be so accommodated, and it was not till after a great deal of discussion that they made up a third bed in this room, and put two of us into a cold straggling apartment, where we found what we demanded.

The morning of our leaving Pinerolo for the Valley of Lucerna was so bright and beautiful, that the air was fresh rather than cold, and for the first time, since we were upon Italian soil, we enjoyed the sight of an Italian sky. There was all that clear blueness, and appearance of wider expanse in the firmament, which make one fancy that the vault of Heaven is loftier in this region than in our own. The country too, that we passed over, wore a very different aspect to that which we visited the previous evening, it was more open and productive, and did not so soon shrink into glens and defiles. The silvery tops of the distant mountains shone with uncommon splendour, and the whole drive to La Torre was one of the most cheerful that we had enjoyed. The first view of Mount Viso was imposing in the extreme. It is below the level of eternal snow, but its sides and brow were now covered, and the dazzling whiteness of its peaks burst upon us at a sudden turn in the road, and called forth a general exclamation of delight. No pencil can do justice to the bright tints of a mountain's snowy top sparkling in the sun.

On leaving Pinerolo we followed the fine broad road that leads to Saluzzo, in a due southerly direction for about two miles, crossed the Clusone over an ill-built and crazy bridge, and at the hamlet of Onasco turned into a cross-road to the right, and continued our route towards the west. Bricherasio was the last Catholic commune through which we passed : it is well situated, but though it is within the Pelice and the Clusone, the boundary rivers of the Protestant limits, yet, like the other two or three villages in the plain, its lands are considered too productive to be suffered to remain under the cultivation of heretics; and Protestant families are not permitted to make any purchases or settlements within its limitations. The laws on this subject are so severe, that a Vaudois pastor is not permitted to sleep in any of the villages which are immediately adjoining to those of his own community, and a minister was exposed here to a curious dilemma upon this very edict of exclusion. He had been to visit one of his flock who was taken ill at Bricherasio, and a snow-storm at night was so violent that he was unable to return to his own habitation. The poor man dare not go to bed, for fear of exposing himself to the penalties of the law, and actually sat up all night to evade it, and to be able to swear that he did not *sleep* at Bricherasio.

The nearer we approached the boundaries of San Giovanni, or St. Jean, the first Protestant village, the greater interest M. Vertu took in the country; and when he crossed the limits, he seemed to breathe a new air, and to enjoy a new existence. He was all delight to be upon the soil of his own native valley, kept pointing out to us every well-known spot, recounting anecdotes of the days of persecution, and assigning a tale to every hamlet within view. The grove upon the slope of the hill, and by the road-side, just as we got within the confines, was an object of particular regard. "It had been an out-post," he said, "in many a bloody skirmish between the Catholic and Protestant borderers."

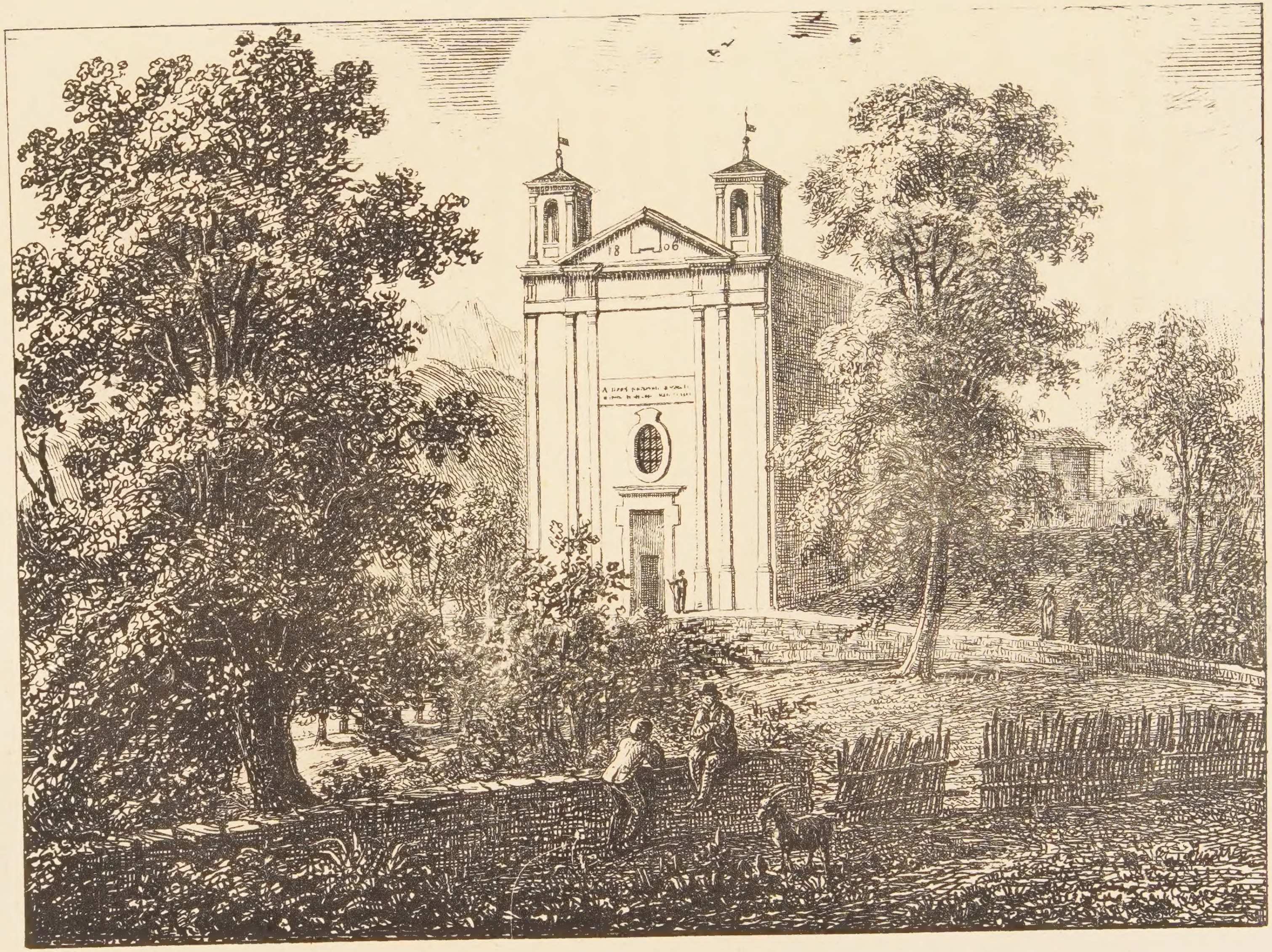
He pointed to the banks of the Pelice, near Lucerna. "At that bend of the river," he told us, "tradition had consecrated the spot to the recollection of an exploit more memorable than the achievement of Leander himself. A Catholic had paid great attention to the lessons of a Vaudois friend, and gave such proof of his heart being touched, that the latter thought no opportunity ought to be lost of pressing his conversion while he appeared to be in a favourable mood. His visits used to be nocturnal. On the night when he flattered himself that his arguments would prevail, the floods had cut off the usual means of access. It was winter, and the torrent was alarmingly broad and rapid; but the Christian hero was not to be interrupted or daunted in his holy enterprize: he boldly plunged into the waters, swam across, and reaped his reward in the conversion of his friend from Popery."

The new church of San Giovanni, and that of La Torre, or La Tour, just distinguishable under the frowning crag, that serves as a land-mark for many miles before it is approached, were spots to which M. Vertu particularly directed our eyes, and where he fixed his own with looks of reverential admiration; but when we were once fairly among the houses and inhabitants of San Giovanni, he could no longer contain his satisfaction. It was a burst of youthful ecstacy, of undisguised and irrepressible joy, which communicated itself to us, and encreased the esteem which we already entertained for our amiable companion. He had not been for many months in the valley which gave him birth, and where every string that was touched beat in unison with those of his own heart.

The mountains and vales of the Vaudois are retreats of hospitable kindness and confidence, where patriarchal simplicity and unaffected manners prevail to an extent, which is seldom seen elsewhere; and when a young man, like M. Vertu, finds himself transported from a capital, where all is constraint and suspicion, to such a scene, his heart cannot but surrender itself to the enthusiasm of the moment.

It was a Sabbath morning when we passed through San Giovanni, and the peasants were going to church. As groupes, or individuals, met us, our friend from Turin nodded to one, and spoke to another; seemed to know every body, and told us who were Roman Catholics, and who Protestants: in fact, we soon distinguished them ourselves; for it is notorious that the Protestant peasantry may be recognized by the superior cleanliness of their appearance.

The new church of San Giovanni is a large brick building, which stands nobly upon rising ground, and may be seen at some distance. Nearly opposite to it is the Catholic church. Before the great door of the former, I was surprised to see a lofty screen, or palisade; and concluded that the front of the edifice had never been finished. But this unsightly woodwork was erected, that the pious Catholics of San Giovanni might not be shocked at seeing their heretical neighbours enter their place of worship, or house of abomination. The number of the latter amounts to seventeen hundred, and more; that of the former does not exceed forty! The old Protestant church was destroyed above a hundred years ago, in one of the persecutions, and never suffered to be re-built till the French occupied Piemont. It has been the policy of the Catholic government not to allow a dilapidated church or presbytery of the Waldenses to be restored; and to this hour the pastor of San Giovanni has not been permitted to have a house appropriated to his office, as the ministers of the other twelve parishes have. When the French put the Vaudois upon the same footing as the other inhabitants of the province, they took advantage of their privileges, and built the new church. But what was the consternation of the Protestant population of San Giovanni, when the edict of May, 1814, commanded them to shut up the sacred edifice! Their supplications were unnoticed; the court paid no attention to its heretical subjects, and the interdict would have continued, but for the repeated intervention of the Protestant ambassadors; among



THE CHURCH OF SAN GIOVANNI OR ST JEAN

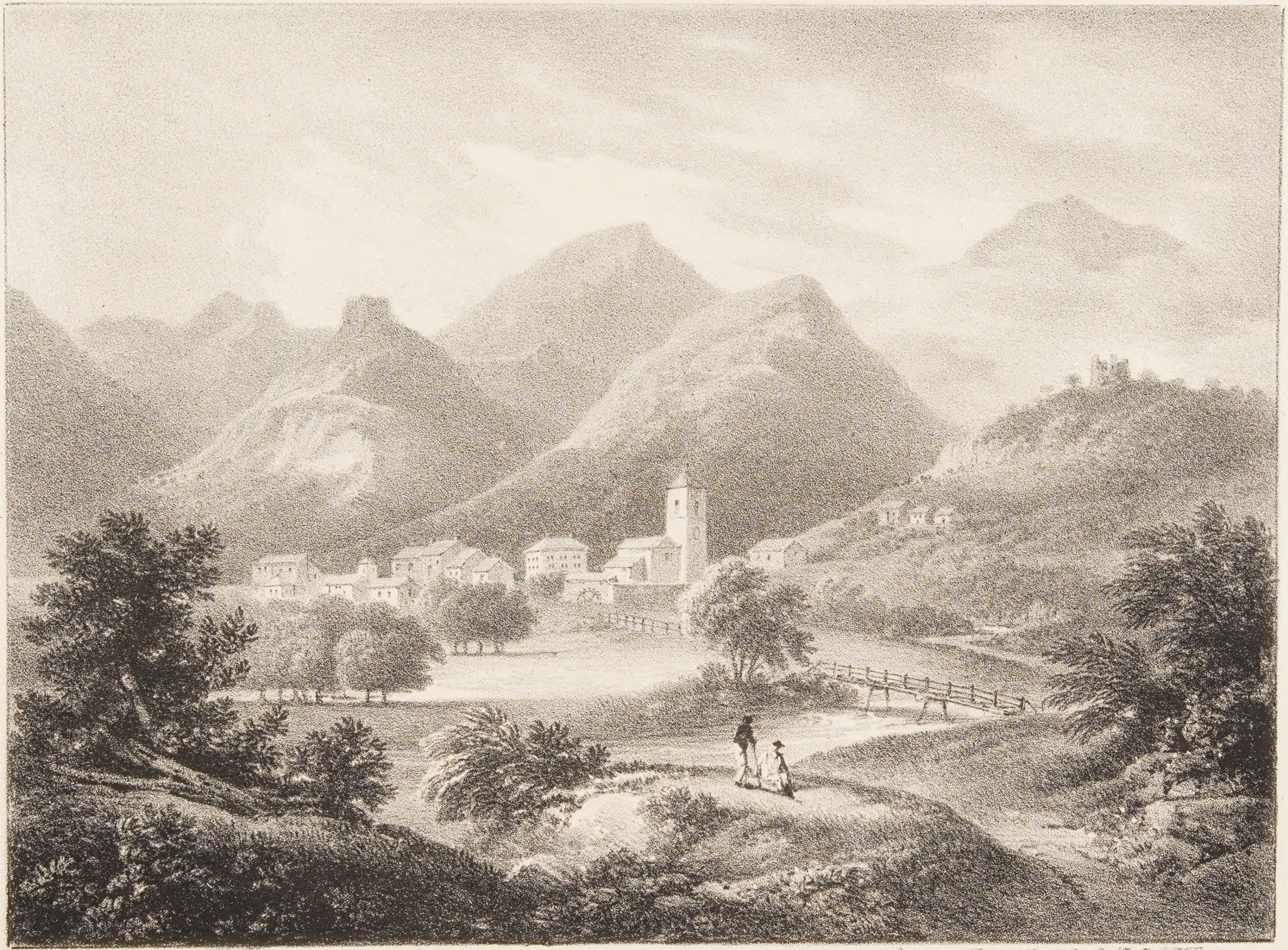
whom the Prussian minister exerted himself with his wonted ardour. The church was re-opened, but only upon the humiliating condition of raising this hideous screen, this deformity, so disgraceful to the Papists who insisted upon its erection, and so mortifying to the professors of the other creed, who are obliged to submit to it.

The scruples of the Catholics of La Torre were indulged in another matter, equally at the expense of the Protestants of that village. The new school gave offence; they were scandalised as they passed it, to hear the infant heretics repeating their wicked lessons! Their remonstrances were respected by the minister of the interior, who, when he found he could not shut up the school, removed the scandal as far as he could, by commanding a partition to be made on the outside, so that the ears of the faithful might no longer be offended. Such are the pitiful and vexatious proceedings, which are still in force against the innocent and harmless Waldenses. The opinions of the age will no longer allow of corporeal punishment for religious differences, and bigotry therefore is obliged to content itself with this wretched mode of showing its disappointment. As it cannot be cruel, it is ridiculous.

After leaving the village of San Giovanni, we entered a lovely vale. The Pelice flowed in the middle: on the other side of the river stood Lucerna, which is seen to great advantage from the road. La Torre was directly before us, and the heights of Angrogna rose magnificently to the right. This is by far the richest spot which is left in possession of the Protestants. In the sweet language of Italy, it is indeed " una pianura fertile e graziosa, e l'amenità della campagna rende questo viaggio sommamente delizioso." Gardens and vineyards, orchards and groves, corn land and pastures, mulberry trees, and the stateliest chesnuts, are intermingled in the most picturesque confusion; and the variety of hill and dale, before the acclivities swell into mountains, complete one of the loveliest landscapes in Piemont.

The descriptions of Leger, the historian of the Vaudois, are generally plain matter-of-fact statements, where the style is uniform; but the beauties of San Giovanni, for once, called forth a more animated strain. "It would be a little earthly paradise," said he, "if it were not besieged by Roman Catholics on the east and on the south. It is a beautiful vale, embroidered on the south by verdant meadows, which are watered by the river Pelice: the rest of the vale does not merely consist of corn fields, but of fields, vineyards, and orchards intermixed. The vines are trained up to the very tops of lofty trees; and the tendrils, twining together, and forming graceful festoons, stretch from branch to branch, and *ferment des ravissantes treilles,* under which the peasants are seen plowing with their oxen, or reaping the finest wheat in the world. All the roads, the walks, and the hedges, which separate different farms, are agreeably bordered with different sorts of fruit trees, and particularly with mulberries, which the inhabitants cultivate for their silk-worms, and which help them to raise the money to pay their rents and taxes. This vale is environed and adorned, on the north and the west, by the most superb *costiere,* as they call it, in the world, and the prettiest hills imaginable, which look like one continued vineyard, or bower of vines, under which they sow all kinds of grain; while the soil is refreshed by means of a conduit of water brought from the torrent of Angrogna."

When we arrived at the torrent of Angrogna, the smiling features of San Giovanni were immediately succeeded by the more grand and imposing scenery of La Torre. We were now again in the midst of mountains, and had hastened on, that we might be in time for the church service, when the sound of the steeple bell, pouring its music on the breeze, greeted us with the wel-



Drawn by F. Nicholson

From a Sketch by the Honᵇˡᵉ Mʳˢ Fortescue

LA TORRE OR LA TOUR.

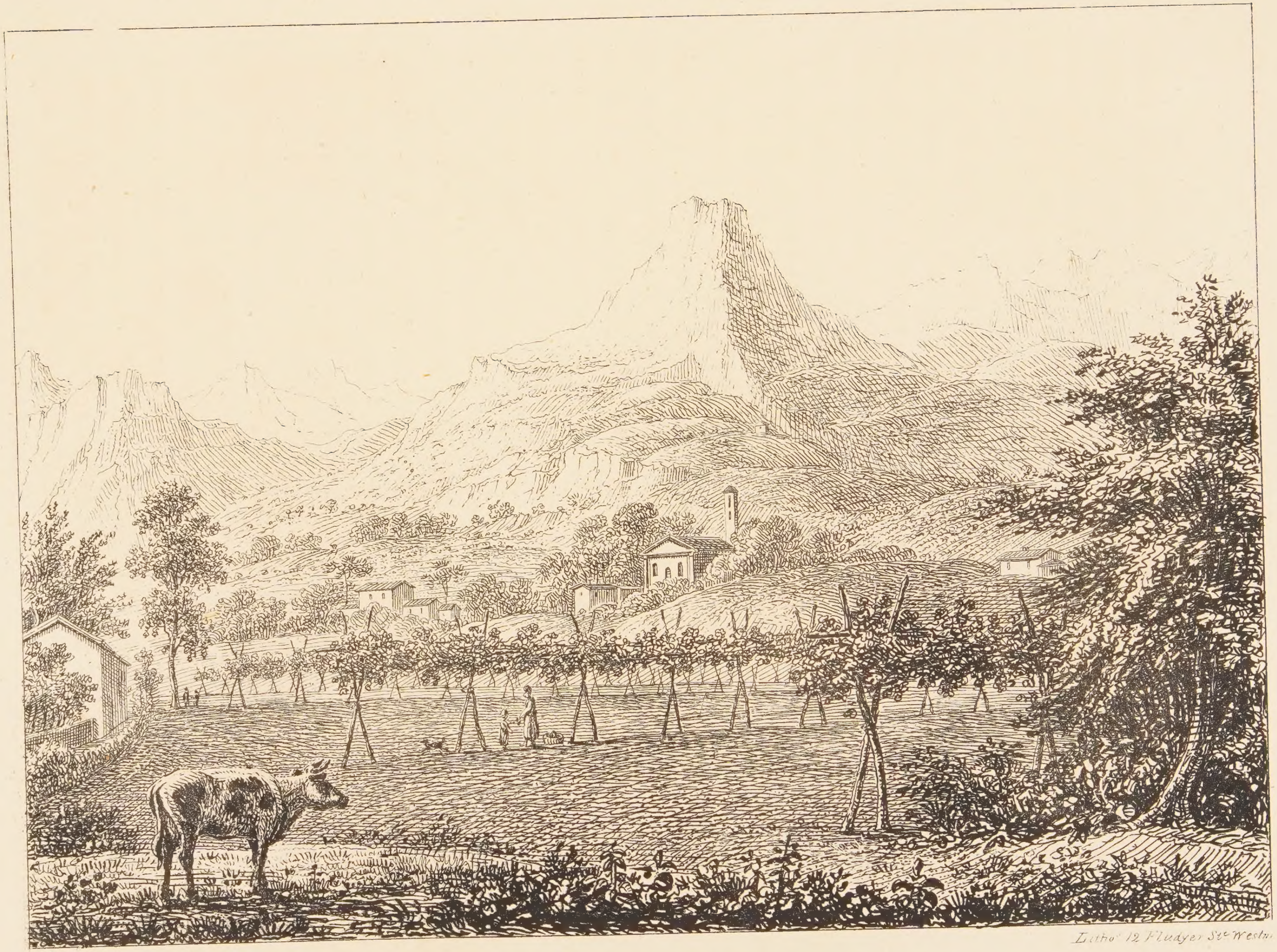
London. Pubᵈ by C. & J. Rivington ~ Sᵗ Paul's Church Yᵈ & Waterloo Place 1824.

Printed by C. Hullmandel.

come information that we were not too late. The clatter of the wheels, and the unusual sight of a carriage in this secluded village, brought but few people to the doors; for almost all were gone, or hurrying forward, to the house of God. We alighted at the little inn, and joined those who had not yet reached the sacred spot to which they were bending their steps; and the greetings and salutations which passed between M. Vertu and the cheerful-looking groupes whom we overtook, were even more affecting than what we witnessed at San Giovanni; for here he was in his native parish, and in the midst of relations. Almost every one whom he accosted was an uncle or an aunt, or a cousin of near or distant branch. But however interesting at the moment it may be to see the hearty shake of the hand, and the kind salute of kindred and clanship, it must be considered as one of the evils to which they are exposed, that the little community of the Waldenses must be for ever intermarrying, family with family. Catholics and Protestants cannot wed, under the risk of being subjected to a variety of vexatious suits; and the consequence is, that there is no end to the connexions, which are perpetually forming between very near relatives.

The first appearance of La Torre gives a more favourable idea of this village than a closer inspection will permit the traveller to form. The two bridges that are built over the torrent at its entrance, the water-mill, and the Catholic church, that are seen to the right, with the ruins of the old castle, that peep from among the trees by which they are surrounded, on a hill that rises sufficiently high to command the village, are picturesque objects, which cheat the imagination into the belief, that La Torre itself must be a most enviable spot. But the street is narrow and ugly, and the houses are poorly constructed, and stand close together. The broadest part is dignified with the name of the Square, or Place de la Torre; and the principal building in it is a long heavy-looking edifice, which is still called the palace, although no longer the residence of the ancient Counts of La Torre. The family is extinct, and the house is now the property of one of the Vertus, who occupies a part, and lets the rest.

After passing through a long line of street, we came to a hamlet which is called the Borgo of S. Marguerita, from whence the church of La Torre, overhung by the tremendous crag of Castelluzzo, is seen to great advantage. In passing through La Torre, every thing that I saw reminded me of what I had been accustomed to in England on a Sabbath-day, so unlike the usual appearance of towns on the continent. Silence and decency prevailed in the streets, smartness in the dress, and cleanliness in the countenance of the rustics. Even the clean close caps of the female peasantry resembled those of my own native parish in Suffolk; and when we reached the church-yard, the comparison was still more striking; for the villagers were assembled before the church-door, waiting for the clergyman, who had not yet come, and enjoying the fineness of the weather. The sun-shine of the heart seemed to harmonize with the brightness of the day. I employed the short interval before we entered the sacred walls, in taking a view of the objects around me. The church of La Torre is rather a large building, and stands upon a very picturesque eminence, surrounded by trees and vineyards, and at the distance of about a mile from the village. The rising ground on which it is built bursts abruptly towards the north and west, into rocky eminences, and these into lofty crags and towering mountains: some of which protrude so far from their base, that they look as if they would inevitably fall, and overwhelm every thing below them. The church-yard might be rendered still more pleasing to the eye, if the graves and turf were kept in better order; but I have never seen any consecrated spot on the other



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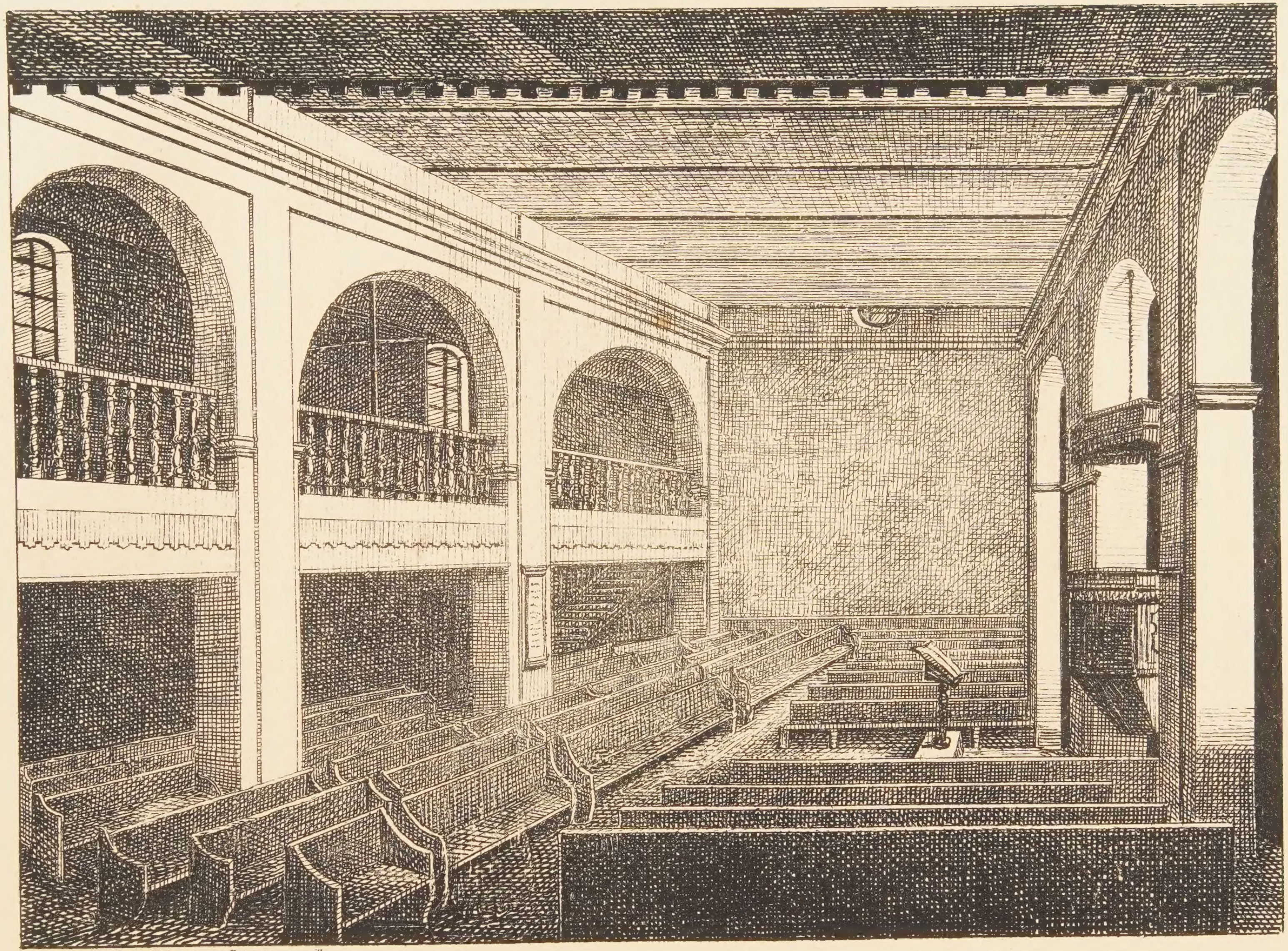
Litho. 12 Fludyer St. Westm.

A DISTANT VIEW OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF LA TORRE AND THE CRAG CASTELLUZZO.



Lithoᵍ 12 Fludyer Stᵗ Westmʳ.

INTERIOR OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF LA TORRE side of the channel, which, in this respect, can compare with those of our own. The front of the church not only commands a prospect of the village, and the winding road conducting from it, but also a very extensive view of the vale through which the Pelice flows, on the San Giovanni side; and the heights above are said to present the magnificent sight of the plains of the Po, spreading like a map before the eye.

M. Bert, the exemplary pastor of La Torre, soon arrived, in his gown and band, and received the affectionate attentions of his flock, before he preceded them into church. The service commenced with reading two chapters from the Gospels, (second and third of St. Matthew) by the school-master; and after the chapter, an explanation of it. The practice of permitting a layman to read the lessons, is not at all unusual in some of our own country places, and therefore did not strike me as being irregular. After the chapter, a psalm was sung (Psalm v. 3, 4), accompanied by an organ, the only one in the Protestant valleys; and M. Bert then delivered an exhortation to prayer, from a printed form. A kind of state prayer followed; and, if I remember right, an extempore supplication. Next the Lord's prayer; afterwards the sermon; then a long petition [p], or collect, from the book; the Lord's prayer again; the belief; a psalm sung (Psalm ciii. 1, 2); another exhortation from the Liturgy; and a blessing concluded the service.

The inside of the church was perfectly plain; and, with the assistance of a gallery, calculated to hold a very large congregation. I did not observe any division, to answer the description of a chancel: the communion table stands directly in front of the pulpit; and the pulpit is placed near the centre of the church. The men sit on one side, and the women on the other; not in pews, but on benches; and the whole congregation join in the singing. There were several monumental inscriptions in the church, both on the pavement, and on mural tablets: one of the latter excited my attention so much, that I took an opportunity of copying it. It was erected in memory of an English lady, who died at Turin, in 1817.

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[p] See the Appendix, No. 6.

HIC JACET QUOD RELIQUUM EST CHRISTIANÆ,
THOMÆ ALLAN ARMIGERI, EDINBURGENSIS,
DILECTISSIMÆ CONJUGIS,
NECNON GEORGII SMITH, ARMIGERI DE MONK-CONISTON
IN COMITATU LANCASTRIÆ APUD ANGLOS
FILIÆ PIISSIMÆ.
OBIIT AUGUSTÆ TAURINORUM. MAIÆ DIE 14, 1817.

" Here lie the remains of Christina, the beloved wife of Thomas Allan, Esquire, of Edinburgh, and the affectionate daughter of George Smith, Esquire, of Monk Coniston, in the county of Lancaster, in England. She died at Turin, on the 14th day of May, 1817."

I observed that neither in the church of La Torre, nor in either of the other churches that I examined, was there any appearance of armorial bearing to be discovered among the inscriptions that recorded the names and family of native Vaudois. In fact, these simple people have no distinctions of birth or rank; and if any of them are descended from the nobles of Piemont, or any other country, they do not, as far as I could gather, keep up the honours of such ancestry. It would be happy for them if they had some kindred and friends among the great and powerful.

The countenances and figures of the rustics, whom we saw assembled together upon this occasion, were not, upon the whole, particularly striking for beauty or symmetry; some of the young women were pretty, but there were only two whom we noticed above the rest. One had a very sweet face, lovely in health and innocence: the other was a charming girl, whose manner and appearance were much superior to the others. Her fair complexion, light hair, and blue eyes, would have distinguished her from amidst the darker features of her companions, even if her blushes, when she met M. Vertu, had not told a tale. We learnt that a mutual attachment existed between them, and that the belle of the valley is as amiable as she is handsome.

Upon our return to the village, I renewed my acquaintance with M. Bert, and received the kindest assurances from him, that every accommodation which his house could furnish, should be at our service. The uncles of M. Vertu did the same; but we considered ourselves too large a party to press upon their hospitality, and established ourselves at the very comfortable inn in the centre of La Torre, where we were surprised, and gratified to find that nothing was wanting to make it an agreeable residence, for as many days as a traveller may choose to stay. We had been told at Turin, and by persons whose official situation rendered it a duty to make themselves better acquainted with the condition of the inhabitants of this Protestant district, that it would be necessary to carry provisions with us, if we thought of remaining any time in either of the three valleys: and the same informants added, that there was nothing in the scenery to make a journey of thirty miles from the capital worth the trouble: so little are these interesting people, and their picturesque country, known by the world. They are certainly poor, and unprovided with what contributes to the luxuries of life; but none, whose object is research, and for whom the sublime beauties of nature have charms, need fear that their habits will be too much intrenched upon even in these secluded spots.

Our visit to one of the houses of La Torre, had a degree of intense interest communicated to it, by receiving a confirmation of the horrible plot against the Vaudois, in 1794, which Mr. Lowther[q] has detailed in his little memoir with so much feeling. We were shewn the very spot, on which the generous Odetti communicated the nature of the conspiracy to the father of the present possessor of the house, and it was explained to us how the windows and entrances were to have been barricaded, and the feeble means of defence prepared against the treacherous assault. M. Odetti was a captain of the Piemontese militia, then embodied, and acting against the French invaders, and a little before the fatal blow was to have been struck, he had been invited to join the conspirators in a general massacre of the Vaudois. M. Odetti was a rigid Catholic, and it was expected that the well known severity of his principles would have induced him to sanction any measure for the destruction of heresy. The Curè of Lucerna, M. Brianza, was also admitted into the secret, but these two worthy men had too much of the real spirit of Christianity even to conceal, and much less to join in the plot. Brianza sent a private message to La Torre, to apprize the inhabitants of their danger, but did not succeed in putting them sufficiently upon their guard. Odetti, knowing that the hour of action was so near that nothing but very prompt measures could frustrate the sanguinary design, set out from Cavour himself, which is on the other side of the Pelice, and at some distance from La Torre, and hastened to his friend, to give him the alarming information. "I am afraid," said he, "that I am too late to prevent bloodshed.—There is a conspiracy against you. The assassins are even now on foot, but if I cannot save you, I will perish with you. The honour of my religion is at stake, I must justify it by sharing your danger."

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[q] See also "Notice sur l'etat actuel des Eglises Vaudoises, Paris. 1822," for a confirmation of this plot.

The consternation in La Torre was beyond all description at the horrible intelligence, which was now spread from house to house, and every habitation soon assumed the appearance of hopeless terror. The windows were closed and barred, and piles of stone were collected to hurl down upon the heads of the assailants, but aged men, and women and children, were the only persons left to use them. The strength and flower of the population were eight or nine miles off, and occupied in defending the mountain passes against the French. Scarcely a man who could bear arms was away from this loyal duty, and yet this was the moment at which no less than eight hundred bigoted monsters had sworn to exterminate all the Protestants of the valley of Lucerna, and to spread murder and devastation from San Giovanni to Bobbio.

But even assassins like these must have some false motive to disguise their real object. Piemont was at this period the scene of operations between the French and the allied armies. The plan of the campaign on the part of the republicans was, to penetrate into the country with a vast superiority of forces, to extend their line from the Valais to the sources of the Stura, and to seize the first favourable opportunity to march upon the capital. The invading army had a division of 25,000 men preparing to move upon the provinces of Pinerolo and Saluzzo only, and keeping up a line of communication with 50,000 more, who were waiting to strike a blow against Turin. The French troops had met with such effectual resistance in attempting to enter the valleys of the Vaudois by the other passes, that they determined to try what could be done in a quarter where they were not so much expected to make an attack. A detachment crossed the mountains between Mount Viso and the Col d'Aliries, or Abries, and suddenly appeared before the fort of Mirabouc, which stands at no great distance from the source of the Pelice, and at the very extremity of the valley of Lucerna. Not a Vaudois was in the fort when it surrendered, but the fanatical party thought it a good opportunity to inflame the public mind against the Protestants, and it was pretended that they had betrayed the fortress. The cry of "revenge, revenge," passed from mouth to mouth; the night of the 14th of May was appointed for the execution of it, and the house and garden of the Catholic Curè of La Torre were the head quarters, or rendezvous from which the conspirators were to rush upon their defenceless prey.

Not an instant was to be lost; the day was already arrived when Captain Odetti gave the information, and at sunset the murderers were to begin to assemble.

The only chance of safety consisted in sending notice of the plot to General Godin, a Swiss officer, who commanded the Piemontese troops on the nearest frontier. That brave man turned a deaf ear to the messenger, because he could not believe in the existence of so base a conspiracy. Another and another messenger arrived, but with no better success. At length several fugitives made their appearance from La Torre; the dreadful news reached the Vaudois soldiers themselves, and in a state of the utmost apprehension for the lives of their families, they insisted upon being despatched to their succour. The general became sensible of his error, but not in time to give him hopes of being able to preserve the innocent victims. The day was wearing away, the fatal hour was named in which the work of blood was to commence, and nothing but extraordinary speed could possibly enable a detachment to reach the spot before it began. To repair his unfortunate error the general commanded the brigade of Vaudois to march instantly, and followed himself with another division.

The wretched husbands and fathers pursued their way in almost frantic desperation. The imminent danger of their wives and children rendered any regularity of march out of the question: they precipitated themselves down steeps which they would have shuddered to encounter upon any other occasion, urged each other on with wild shouts, and prayed aloud to heaven to give them additional speed. As they advanced on the road, they were repeatedly met by parties of distracted women, and frightened children, sent forward from La Torre to hasten their pace. Many of these, in their terror and despair, assured them that they were too late: that the business of death was even then proceeding.

With breathless haste, and in a state of excruciating suspense, they hurried on. The shades of the evening fell with encreasing darkness, and with them a storm of rain that brought the torrents down the mountains, and threatened to impede their further advance. They began to accuse Providence of being leagued against them. The waters poured down from the heights in such accumulated violence, that it was almost madness to prosecute their march: nothing but desperation could have prompted them to go on. The last torrent that they had to pass was rushing with unusual impetuosity, but they dashed through it in safety, and in a few minutes after arrived within sight of La Torre. At the same moment they heard the tolling of the vespers bell of the convent of the Récollets: this, they had been told, was to be the fatal signal for the assassins to sally forth.

The unhappy men felt that they were too late. "We will revenge," they cried, "if we cannot prevent"—and their speed was not abated. They rushed into the street of the village; the tramp of their feet, and the clangor of their arms were heard within the houses, and to the unutterable joy of these gallant deliverers, hundreds of voices were raised to welcome and bless their appearance.

The arm of God had done that which man's could not do: the time was not enough to allow of the arrival of the Vaudois, before the signal was to have been given for the conspirators to put themselves in action, but the rain-storm, and violence of the torrents, which had no terrors for men advancing in a good cause, had alarmed and stopped the murderers. Many of those who should have arrived at the rendezvous, had not reached it, and those, who were there, dare not move forward upon this sanguinary enterprize, until their numbers were encreased.

Considering the violent state of excitement to which the passions of the Vaudois soldiery were raised, it is natural to suppose, that surrendering themselves up to the feelings of the moment, they wreaked their vengeance upon the most criminal, at least, of their enemies. But no, not a drop of blood was spilt; satisfied with the preservation of their friends, they were guilty of no violence upon the persons or property of any of the Catholics, who were accomplices in the plot. The assassins escaped in the darkness of the night, and the Vaudois took no other steps towards their chastisement, than to forward a list of the conspirators to the government, who made no enquiry into the matter, and suffered them to go unpunished.

The guilty escaped, but the innocent were disgraced. General Godin was tried by a military commission, for suffering his detachment to quit the frontiers. Upon that charge he was acquitted, but he had excited the jealousy of the court by favouring the Protestants, and was first removed from the command of the troops in the valley of Lucerna to the valley of San Martino, and afterwards was dismissed from the service, without receiving any mark of the royal approbation. His successor, General Zimmerman, was a Catholic, but his sense of equity would not allow him to bear hard upon the Vaudois: on the contrary, he made repeated representations to the king in their favour, and at last succeeded in obtaining certain privileges, which were never before conceded to them. It is almost like a fable to record what these concessions were, in return for "the constant and distinguished proofs of their attachment and fidelity" to the royal cause. But they appear among the state papers of the day, and were, first, "*permission to practice medi-*

*cine* among themselves;" secondly, " an investigation into the choice of municipal officers, placed at the head of Protestant communes, many of whom were ineligible to the office from their general want of qualification;" thirdly, " an amendment of the law by which the Protestant children might be forcibly taken from their parents, and educated in the Catholic religion," and fourthly, " a promise, that if any charge should be brought against the Vaudois, from which Catholics are exempt, we shall see that justice is administered."

These magnificent concessions were headed with the following preamble, and dated 4th June, 1794, a convincing proof that there could be no foundation for accusing the Vaudois of betraying Fort Mirabouc, or of any other treason against the state.

" We have read the memorial presented to us from you, by General Zimmerman, respecting the desires expressed by our dear and faithful subjects the Vaudois, relating to their actual political existence. In consideration of the constant and distinguished proofs, which they have ever given to our royal predecessors, of their attachment and fidelity, and the zeal which they have shewn *in pressing into the army for the defeat of our enemies;* we are disposed to receive their memorial favourably, and to make them feel, from the present moment, the effects of our special protection; making only some reservation as to some articles which require more explanation; granting them, after the war, such concessions as may be compatible with the constitution of the state, and which may assure them of the *value we entertain for their services,* and the interest which we take in their existence and their happiness.

(Signed) " Victor Amadeus."

It is difficult to reconcile these and similar royal acknowledgements of the services, which the Vaudois have never ceased to render to their sovereigns, in times of emergency, with the grievances and humiliations to which they are exposed. The nineteenth century is disgraced by the barbarous edicts in force against them; and if they could not be authenticated by the most indisputable evidence, it would appear incredible that the following complaints should be but a few among the numberless, which they have to urge. Some of the restrictions would be quite ludicrous, if their effects were not felt too keenly to be matter for a smile.

" No Protestant can inherit or purchase land beyond the limitations of the Clusone and Pelice."—It is hoped that purchases made before the restoration, will not be disturbed; but no petitions have succeeded in obtaining a repeal of the obnoxious law. A Protestant lately applied to the government for permission to buy a house, and a small piece of ground contiguous to it, in Turin. It was answered by an intimation, that the enactments on this subject must remain untouched; but that no interruption to the transaction would be offered by the legal authorities. Of course, land upon such a tenure is scarcely worth having.

" No books of instruction or devotion, for the use of the Protestants, may be printed in Piemont;" and the duty upon the importation of such books is enormous.

" No Vaudois may practise as a physician, surgeon, apothecary, attorney, or advocate, except among his own community, and within the limits."

Even in the communes of the three valleys, there may not be a majority of Protestants. For example; of the five syndics, three must be Catholics. This is a crying evil in such places as Bobbio and San Giovanni, where the Protestants are as 1700 to 40, and the Catholic population of the lowest order. It frequently happens, that a duly qualified Catholic cannot be found in the commune to complete the number; and that the very refuse of the people have been nominated, to keep within the letter of the law.

The Protestants are obliged to observe the festivals of the Catholics, and to abstain from work on those days. This is another excessive hardship. There is one holiday at least every week, and sometimes two or three: so that the Protestant peasant has never more than five days in the week for labour, and sometimes only three. The Sabbath day he keeps with scrupulous observance, while the Roman Catholic cares not for violating it. A poor Vaudois peasant was accused of irrigating his little meadow upon a festival day, and condemned to pay a fine for not observing the sanctity of a saint's day.

Fifteen sous a day in the winter, and twenty in the summer, is the utmost a peasant can earn: take away two or three days from his weekly earnings, and what a pittance is left! Roasted chesnuts, potatoes, and bread, if any, of the blackest and most ordinary sort, are the principal food they can obtain.

The Protestants have to pay a land-tax of 20½ per cent.; while the Catholics pay but 13 per cent.

It will be seen from this statement, how very few are the resources of the Vaudois. From the military and civil employments, and from the learned professions, they are excluded. The valley of Lucerna is the only one which can be called productive; and, even there, agricultural pursuits cannot be prosecuted to much advantage, where the duties are high, and the restrictions so burdensome. A small trade is carried on in charcoal; and the silk-worm is reared in some of the hamlets; but there can scarcely be said to be any manufactures, when one woollen manufactory, and two tan-yards, are principally what come within this designation. The looms employ about thirty men, and forty women and children, and make about eight hundred pieces of cloth annually, of about forty yards to the piece. The tan-yard at Bobbio finds occupation for four men ; and that at La Torre, for about five.

I did not ascertain what business is done in the few smelting-houses that I observed: the hands at work were not numerous.

This will not be an improper place to mention, that although La Torre is the principal village or town of the Vaudois, and contains a population of two thousand inhabitants, yet it offers not the least appearance of trade. Few shops are to be seen, and those are of a very humble character. My surprise at this want of shops, led me into a laughable mistake ; and it was the more ludicrous, considering the simple character of the people.

" You have no shops at all," I said to M. Vertu ; " not even that of a *bourreau*." I meant to say, *boucher*. " *Bourreau!*" he exclaimed, " what do we want with an *executioner?* Why we have had but one capital conviction among us for a hundred years !"

## CHAPTER VI.

*Angrogna — La Barricade — Cultivation — Cheerful landscape — Sabbath on the mountains—Religious and moral character of mountaineers—Village pastor's house—M. Paul Goante—Alpine cottages—Thuanus—Want of religious books —Peasant of Angrogna—Mode of tillage—Mountain fastnesses—La Vachera—Pre du Tour—Obstinate and gallant conflicts there—Sublime mountain scenery—The Bouquetin—The Jumarre—Beautiful valc—Comparison between solitary and busy life—The fortress of La Torre.*

M. Vertu, of La Torre, brother to our friend at Turin, was many years in England during the early part of his life; and his intimate knowledge of the English language, rendered him of great service to us, when we wished to make enquires connected with local and technical explanations. He had the kindness to accompany us to Angrogna, acting as our interpreter in several conversations which we had with the peasantry, who spoke the patois[r] only of the country; and to him I was indebted for much of the immediate information I picked up, as to the condition of agriculture, and the few manufactures of the Vaudois.

Angrogna lies to the north of La Torre, at the distance of about a mile and a half from the latter, and in the midst of some of the finest mountain scenery of which the Alps can boast. The mountain stream, which is called the Torrent of Angrogna, gives its name to a cluster of valleys which branch out like the boughs of a tree, and runs into the Pelice, just below La Torre. It is supplied by innumerable springs of water, which gush from the rocks, and by following its course from the vale, the tourist will be conducted to the village itself, and higher up, to such a succession of picturesque spots, and secluded glens, as no description can do justice to. The natural beauties of the scenery of Angrogna, and the sublime objects of crag rising above crag, of enormous masses of rock debouching into the glens beneath, and of abysses, the depths of which the eye cannot penetrate, are rendered still more interesting by their being consecrated to the memory of heroes and martyrs, whose histories are in the mouth of every peasant.

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[r] See Appendix, No. 11.

There are few of these Alpine recesses occupied by the Vaudois, which have not legends of their own to amuse the stranger, independent of their local attractions ; but no commune is more distinguished in this respect than that of Angrogna. " L'éternel nostre Dieu," says Leger, " qui avoit destiné ce Paiis-là pour en faire particulièrement le Theatre de ses merveilles, et l'Asyle de son Arche, l'a naturellement et merveilleusement fortifié." According to the same historian there were formerly two strong forts, or barriers, which defended the entrance of the passes to Angrogna, on the side of Lucerna and Bricherasio, capable of being held for a long time by a very few troops, who, if these were forced, might easily fall back upon a place called La Barricade, about half a league higher up, among the mountains. A reference to the map will shew that La Barricade is a narrow defile, upon the side of the torrent : it is fenced in by steep rocks, and at the spot where the rocks were supposed to leave too wide a passage, a strong wall of flints was thrown up, to add to the natural strength of the position, and so contrived, that one opening only was left, by which the retreating party might escape to the fastnesses behind it.

Angrogna was formerly so often the retreat of the Vaudois, when they were forced to abandon San Giovanni, La Torre, and Villaro, that several geographers, who were ignorant of the true divisions of the country, have spoken of the valley of Angrogna as the principal district of the community. The Marquess de Fleuri, in the cruel persecution of the middle of the seventeenth century, met with so many warm receptions from the peasants of Angrogna, that he declared he would never attack the heretics in this quarter again, with less than 10,000 men.

The weather was favourable to our excursion, which could be made on foot only; for there is no approaching these higher regions in any sort of vehicle; and saddle-horses for a large party cannot easily be procured. There is a road from San Giovanni to the village of Angrogna, which is practicable for small "chars a bœuf;" but nobody would think of riding in such awkward machines as these. It was the first time of our ascending the mountains, and of penetrating into the heart of those seclusions, which have such charms for the imagination; and we set out in high spirits upon the expedition. Pomaretto is much less out of the common track of travellers, than Angrogna; and may be seen from the road to France from Pinerolo; but nothing less than a visit to the spot itself, is likely to conduct to the retired habitations of which we were now in search.

Upon leaving La Torre and the vale of the Pelice, we came to a smooth and level piece of grass-land, at the foot of a chain of heights, which divides two valleys; and there we crossed the torrent, and took the direction of the valley to the right. The ascent soon became more and more abrupt; and the path-way at one time wound up the mountain in the midst of chesnut and walnut trees, whose aged trunks and branching arms have perhaps afforded shelter to many a persecuted fugitive. At other times we suddenly emerged from gigantic fragments of rock, that had rolled from the steeps above, and covered whole tracts of ground with their ruins, and found ourselves walking over well cultivated plots of corn-land, which extended to the brink of precipices, and made us wonder what industrious hand could have made grain to spring up on such repulsive soil. Ridges of wheat were seen, where every inch of earth on which it grew, was brought by hand from a distance, and spread upon the stony surface.

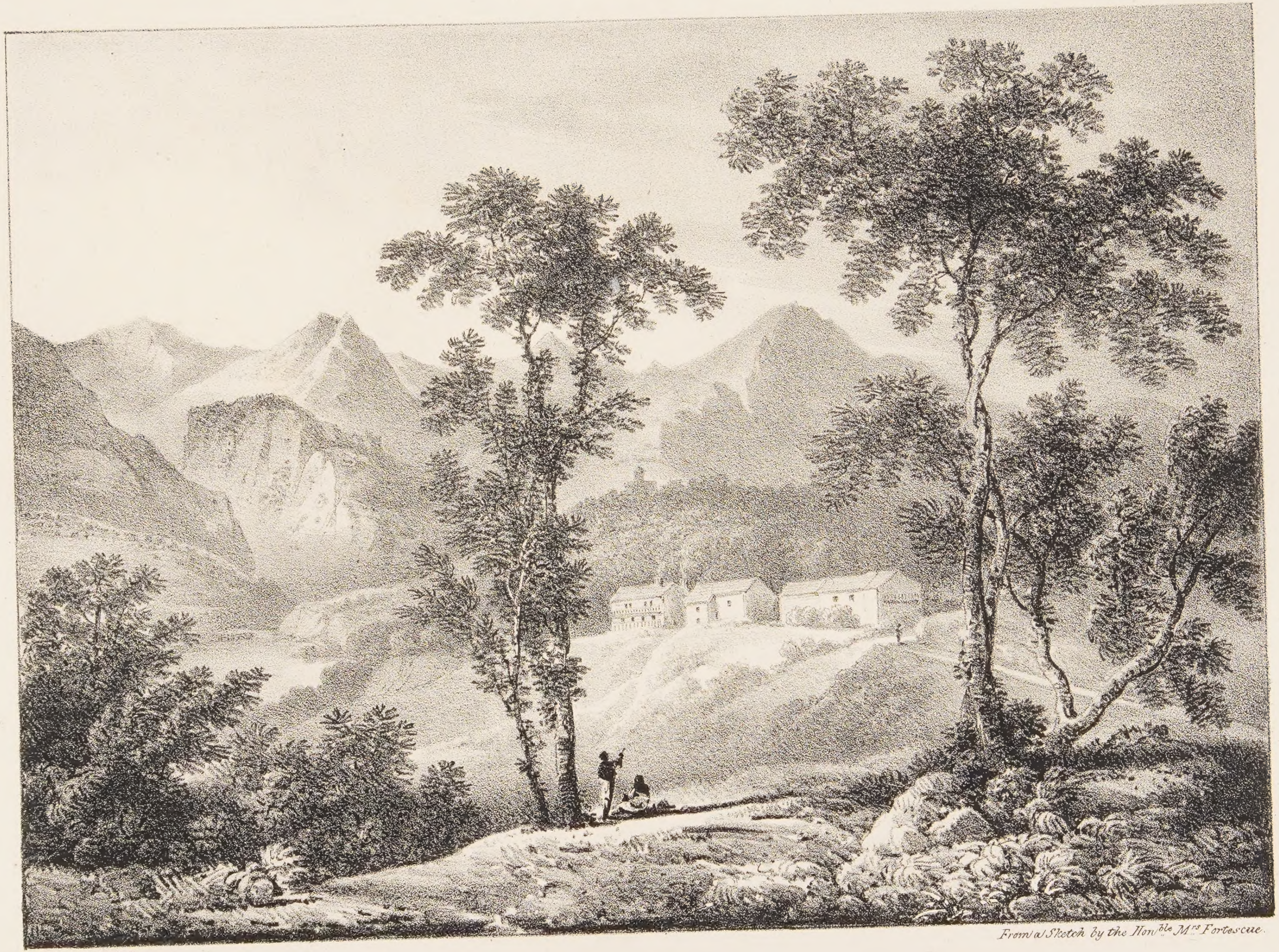
Rousseau's beautiful and almost poetical image of the sudden change from the bare and barren, to the smiling and productive, was brought before our eyes in frequent succession during this delightful walk; and what *he* fancied, *we* really saw. "Quelque-fois en sortant d'un gouffre une agréable prairie rejouissoit tout à coup mes regards. Un melange étonnant de la nature sauvage, et de la nature cultivée montroit par-tout la main des hommes, où l'on eût crut qu'ils n'avoient jamais pénetrè: a côtè d'une caverne on trouvoit des maisons; on voyait des pampres secs où l'on n'eût cherché que des ronces, des vignes dans des terres éboulées, et des champs dans des précipices."

Nothing however added more to the cheerfulness of the landscape, than the streams of water that ran gently down the slopes, or rushed impetuously from the heights; some of them murmuring in cascades, which sparkled in the sun; and others roaring and foaming in cataracts. There were two or three water-courses of a very novel appearance; at first sight they looked as if they were artificial; but, upon inspection, we discovered, that they had made a sort of natural channel for themselves in the sides of the mountain, and were winding their way like our path, and flowing into the valley. A rich foliage was all that was requisite to complete the beauty of the scenery; but, as a substitute for this, we had the fringy particles of frost, that hung upon many of the trees. The melody of the Sabbath bell of Angrogna, which was above us, answered by that of La Torre below, re-echoed from one side of the ridge of mountains to the other, and produced a very pleasing and solemn effect.

In the summer, when these pastoral people are tending their cattle at a distance from the villages, and occupying their *châlets*, or temporary cabins, upon the summits of the mountain, the clearness of the atmosphere allows the sound of the same Sabbath bells to reach them, calling them to the worship of the Creator beneath the canopy of heaven. It must be a most gratifying and impressive sight to see them hastening from different quarters, and assembling in a convenient place on the green turf, to listen to the exhortations of their ministers, who follow them on every seventh day to their remotest pasturages. They generally select a sort of natural amphitheatre, where they may be shaded from the rays of the sun, and hear their pastor the more distinctly. A congregation, collected on such spots as these, must give rise to some of the most sublime feelings, which man is capable of entertaining. The simple and amiable character of the people, their patriarchal occupation of watching their flocks, their temporary migration, and change of settlement, their contentment and tranquil enjoyment, without any thing to vary their pleasures, the grand and stupendous scenery by which they are surrounded, and the pure air that they breathe in these elevated regions, offer endless subjects for meditation. If pure happiness can be said to exist on earth, it must be amongst these people, whose wishes are limited by their powers of acquirement, and who know of no pleasures but those which are to be found amongst their mountains. Poets and romancers have imagined, that the nearer we approach the etherial atmosphere, the farther we are removed from the tyranny of those grosser sentiments, which bind us down to earth: and perhaps not without justice. The mountaineer is more virtuous, not only as he is removed from the vices of society, but as he is brought more closely in contact with nature, and, in that, to the adoration of the Deity; the still voice of religion is but faintly heard amidst the crowds of life, but it is loud upon the mountains, where the grandeur of the work bears a visible and continued testimony to the grandeur of the Creator.

Happily for the Vaudois, this feeling is with them in its greatest purity; and we may find a sufficient reason for their contented happiness, in the sincerity of their religion. All their pastors agree in enforcing the same belief and hopes, and the same duties. Their faith is without fanaticism, and their religious opinions are maintained without strife or division. The end of Christian teaching with them, "is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned."

Upon our arrival at the village of Angrogna, which is picturesquely situated on the slope of the mountain, we went directly to the presbytery of M. Paul Goante, to whom we were introduced by our friend, M. Vertu. He had but just finished his dinner, after performing service at two churches, at Angrogna, and at a hamlet two miles farther up among the mountains. The house is a long narrow building, constructed in the humble style of Alpine habitations, and not unlike the Swiss cottages, with two galleries in front, which open into the different apartments. It is formed of wood and stone, the materials which the country furnishes, and these arranged without any regard to beauty. For the general purposes of comfort and accommodation, it is but very little better than the presbytery of M. Rodolphe Peyrani, at Pomaretto. The worthy pastor, whose age appeared to be about fifty-five, was sitting, with his wife, in a small bed-room, where there was no fire, and received us with that kindness and entire freedom from restraint, so peculiar to this simple race. There were no apologies for the want of better articles of furniture, or for not having the means of giving the



Drawn by F. Nicholson.

From a Sketch by the Honble Mrs Fortescue.

ANGROGNA.

Printed by C. Hullmandel.

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strangers a warmer reception. Poverty is not a subject upon which the Vaudois feel they have need to be ashamed.

M. Goante has not that vivacity of manner, and depth of understanding, which were so imposing in M. Peyrani; but his habits are mild and retired, and he is in all respects fully competent to the duties of his situation. His resources are insufficient for the acquisition of a library; he has but few books, and finds employment enough among his flock, who amount to as many as two thousand souls, dispersed over a surface of several miles. Madame Goante is a woman of superior information and acquirements, to the generality of the females in these secluded corners. She was formerly governess in a family in Holland; but now submits to the quiet uniformity of her life with cheerful good-humour. The company of strangers is evidently gratifying to her; and she puts questions to them about the great world, which she has left for ever, with the curiosity, rather than the regret of one who will never see it again. She spoke with much interest and affection of the Hon. Mrs. Fortescue, an English lady, whose richly endowed mind enabled her to find enjoyment, in exchanging for awhile the brilliant circles, in which her rank and accomplishments entitled her to move, for the humbler but interesting society of these amiable mountaineers, among whom human nature may be studied in its purest character. Mrs. Fortescue spent some days among the romantic solitudes of Angrogna, and amused herself in taking many sketches of the scenery, several of which she presented to Madame Goante, who exhibited them to us with infinite pride. They were beautifully executed.

We were pressed to take refreshments; and our hospitable hostess would not suffer us to quit her roof before we had tasted of her cakes and wine. Upon our offering to take leave, M. Goante insisted upon accompanying us through the village, and higher up the mountain ; and, as he walked by our side, the greetings and smiling salutations of the rustics told us, that the pastor of Angrogna was the object of universal affection. Old and young accosted him in the same tone of respectful regard ; and for every one he had a word of kindness or enquiry. The greatest monarch on his throne might be jealous of homage so offered, and so received.

Children driving cows or goats to be milked, and mules and asses to be watered, and cattle seen grazing above our heads, in the upper parts of the mountain, or slowly finding their way home, added life and freshness to the beauty of the scenery about us. The hamlet itself too attracted our attention by the novelty of its appearance, and we became anxious to have a closer view of the cottages which adorned it. One of these was built very high up upon the side of the mountain : constructed of coarse stone, uncemented for the most part, but having a little clay or mud to keep together the loose materials, and exclude the wind on the side most exposed to the weather. There was neither chimney, nor glazed windows ; and the upper chambers were entered by a ladder and gallery. The eaves, or roof, projected all round so as to form a sort of shelter on the outside. This cottage was one of the best and most substantial, and we were not a little curious to see the interior.

As we approached we heard the voices of children, and upon opening the door of the lower part, a strange medley discovered itself. Immediately to our right, as we entered, was an infant in a cradle, near it a circle of half-a-dozen children, neatly dressed, and of cleanly appearance, who were repeating their catechism to a young girl, of about twelve years of age. To our left were seen a cow, a calf, two goats, and four sheep : and the motley groupe of living creatures helped to keep each other warm. It was the common sleeping chamber of them all.

Leaves and straw generally compose the beds of these simple peasants.

The elder girl held in her hand Ostervald's Catechism, in French, from which she was instructing her young companions, for though a patois of Italian is still the common dialect of the province, all the children of the Vaudois are taught French, because their books of instruction are in that language. Until I witnessed this most interesting scene, I confess I thought there was some exaggeration in the account, which Thuanus gave of the Vaudois about two hundred and fifty years ago. "Their houses," says he, "are constructed of flint-stone, with a flat roof, covered with mud, which being spoilt, or loosened by rain, they smooth again, with a roller. *In these they live with their cattle,* separated from them, however, by a fence: they have besides two caves set apart for particular purposes, in one of which they conceal their cattle, in the other themselves, when hunted by their enemies. Poor as they are, they are content, and live separate from the rest of mankind. One thing is astonishing, that persons externally so savage and rude, should have so much moral cultivation. They can all read and write. They understand French, so far as is needful for the understanding of the Bible, and the singing of psalms. You can scarcely find a boy among them, who cannot give you an intelligible account of the faith which they profess[s]."

To this day the same laudable practice is continued, and nothing is so common among the Protestant inhabitants of these valleys as the cry for books. Ask them of what they stand most in need, and the universal reply is, books. One of their ministers, M. Bert, of La Torre, put the following note in my hands. It was a memorandum, that if any were inclined to assist the Waldenses, I might state to such friends their want of books of religious instruction beyond all other necessaries.

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[s] Thuanus, B. xxvii. p. 16.

" Les Eglises Vaudoises du Piemont de plus en plus pourvues de Bibles et de N. Testaments par la munificence Chretienne de nos Benefacteurs, notamment des Anglais, éprouvent encore besoin journalier de Livres de piété. Les plus genéralement demandés sont.

1. " Des Catechismes d'Ostervald.

2. " Des Psaumes de David avec musique. (Soit avec les Cantiques de Pictet, soit separés.)

3. " Des Cantiques de Pictet en un volume apart.

4. " Des nouritures de l'Ame, par Ostervald.

5. " Des livres de prieres de Pictet, ou autres.

" N.B. Les Psaumes usités parmi nous sont eux qui s'impriment à Genève et a Lausanne ou Vevay.

" Le Pasteur de La Tour en particulier desire de petits traites (non en feuille) pour encourager et recompenser ses elèves de l'Ecole du Dimanche."

After we had listened a few minutes to the instruction, which the young peasant girl was giving to her little brothers and sisters, we mounted to the upper part of the cottage, in which we found their father and mother. The apartment was about twenty feet square, and offered as curious a sight as that below. Here was a variety of articles of household use, not lying carelessly about, but sorted and disposed each in its proper place; there were cleanly and well scoured vessels for milk, cheese-presses and churns, and a few wooden platters and bowls. We also observed several implements of husbandry, spinning-wheels, and a large frame for weaving ; for almost every thing that is worn by these rustics is made at home. On a crate, suspended from the ceiling, we counted fourteen large black loaves. Bread is an unusual luxury among them, but the owner of this cottage was of a condition something above the generality. He had a few acres of his own, and his industry and good management had enabled him to provide a winter supply of bacon and flour. M. Goante spoke of him afterwards in very high terms, as a steady and honest man, and *above all, a pious Christian,* and lamented that the father of a family, with the best inclination, could not procure religious books for the education of his children. The Ostervald's Catechism, which his elder daughter had in her hand, was borrowed from another person, and the worthy minister of Angrogna assured us, that elementary and other books of useful instruction were so scarce in his parish, that his poor flock were obliged to separate the leaves of those which they had, and so to pass the detached portions from hand to hand.

The other cottages we entered were of a very inferior order, and had but few of those little comforts, with which in England we desire to see the poorest supplied, and it was quite astonishing to compare the very rude and insufficient accommodations of these people, with their civility and information. In their mode of living, or I might almost say, herding together, under a roof, which is barely weather proof, they are far behind our own peasantry, but in mental advancement they are just as far beyond them. Most of them have a few roods of land, which they can call their own property, varying in extent, from about a quarter of an acre and upwards, and they have the means of providing themselves with fuel, from the abundance of wood upon the mountains.

The tenure, upon which land is hired, requires that the occupier should pay to the proprietor half the produce of corn and wine in kind, and half the *value* of the hay. The indifferent corn-land yields about five fold, and the best twelve fold. They seldom suffer the ground to lie fallow, and the most general course is, wheat for two years, and maize the third. The land is well manured from time to time, and the corn is usually sown in August or September, and cut in June. In the vale of San Giovanni, and in a few other productive spots, hay is cut three times in the year. They have sheep, goats, and cattle, but not many horses; the ploughing is done with the assistance of oxen, where the plough can be used, but in the upper regions, and in the rocky soil, where the plots of corn-land are very confined, and bordering upon the precipices, they are obliged to do every thing with the spade and hoe. Carts and waggons are rarely seen, the charcoal which is carried from the valleys to Pinerolo, is conveyed on the backs of mules and asses, and even the corn is carried home in the same way.

Every herd of cattle, (pigs and sheep as well as bullocks, &c.) pays a small duty to the government when it is killed, and in the great towns of his Sardinian majesty's dominions, we see carcases exposed to sale with a stamp of the Royal arms upon them.

Upon taking leave of M. Goante, we varied our course, and did not return to La Torre through Angrogna, nor by the same path that we mounted these majestic heights, but were disappointed by the snow lying so deep in the higher grounds, as not to permit us to find our way to the celebrated Barricade, the mountain called La Vachera, and the impregnable Pre du Tour, or Pra del Torno. La Vachera is nearly the centre of the three valleys, and it used to form a retreat, from which neither force nor artifice ever succeeded in dislodging the refugees, when they took shelter there from the rage of their persecutors. The Pre du Tour is situated a little to the south of La Vachera, in the bosom of such inaccessible mountains, that in several places there is no approach to it, but by narrow pathways cut in the rocks. It was here, in this sanctuary of the brave and the pious, that the ancient college of Angrogna stood, from which the intrepid preachers used to sally upon their sacred missions, and disseminate those lessons, upon which were afterwards founded the doctrines of the Reformation.

On this spot also the invading army of Duke Emanuel Philibert, under the command of the Count de la Trinitè, experienced one of the most signal defeats that regular troops ever received from a body of undisciplined mountaineers. The count had previously attacked the village of Angrogna, with twelve hundred men, but met with so warm a reception from about two hundred peasants, that he was obliged to retreat, and wait for reinforcements. Irritated by the disgrace, he advanced a second time, and was again repulsed by a little band of heroes, who charged him with loud shouts of "Viva Jesu Christo!" Nothing could equal the fury of the count upon this second defeat; he wreaked his vengeance upon the defenceless inhabitants of the vale of San Giovanni, and after having recruited his forces with a large detachment of Spanish veterans, he once more tried his fortune against Angrogna.

The royal army now amounted to seven thousand men, and the peasants finding that their first position was no longer tenable, in the face of such superior numbers, abandoned their villages, and retired with the whole population to the Pre du Tour. The count followed them, and for four days made every effort to get possession of the defiles. Two colonels, eight captains, and four hundred men, fell in these desperate assaults, without an inch of ground being gained. On the fifth day a fresh attack was made in three different quarters, with the reserve, composed of some Spanish companies, but the post was not carried; and upon the general commanding his troops to return again to the charge, they refused to obey. At the moment when they began to waver, the Vaudois saw the opportunity, and made a sortie, which produced a universal panic and rout among the assailants. The pursuit continued beyond Angrogna, and the enemy was so dispirited, that hostilities ceased, and favourable terms were granted to the Protestants [1].

This exploit took place in 1560, and about a hundred years afterwards the persecuted inhabitants of the valley were obliged to fly for safety to the same asylums, and La Vachera became the scene of a conflict equally memorable. The mountaineers were commanded on this occasion by the pastor and historian, John Leger, who directed such as were unarmed to climb the rocks which overhung the defile, and to roll down stones upon the assailants. This manœuvre was executed so effectually, that the enemy gave ground; the Vaudois rushed from behind their ramparts, sword in hand, and the rout and slaughter were so complete, that it was said upon this occasion, " Altre volte li lupi mangiavano li Barbetti, ma hore li Barbetti mangiano li lupi." Barbetti, or dogs, was the term of reproach by which the Protestants were then called. " *Hitherto the wolves have devoured the dogs, but now the dogs devour the wolves.*"

The prospects, as we descended from Angrogna, were even more interesting than those in our ascent; for from the stupendous masses which surrounded us, as we were climbing the eminences, the elevation did not appear so great as when we were receding from them. The effect of height and depth is always different: if you look up to an object, the altitude is by no means so striking, as the profundity when you look down from it. Some of the precipices were frightful; and in several places, the path was so icy and slippery, that all our precaution was necessary; for a single false step would have been irrecoverable. We had told M. Vertu that we wanted to see some narrow mountain passes, and he indulged us. The beauties and the sublimities which this delightful excursion brought before our eyes, were beyond all imagination ; and if I had not since been in the higher Alps of Switzerland, where the eternal winter, which reigns on the summits of the Jungfrau, the Wetterhorn, and the Schreckhorn, may be compared, even in July, with the bright summer landscape of the Wengern Alp, from which there is a fine survey of their never-melting snows, I should have said that a wintry view from the heights of Angrogna is unrivalled.

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[1] See Appendix, No. 7.

But the tourist loses much, unless his excursion is made in the summer ; he then finds that perfection of the sublime and beautiful in mountain scenery, which is not to be found in any other part of nature ; and that variety of prospect and objects, of lights and shades, of gloom and sunshine, which keeps the eye and mind perpetually in action. Before him is a white mantle of snow, which never disappears ; he turns to the right or to the left, and there he beholds all the brightest colours of fruit and foliage, and all the varieties of rock and meadow. Now he is enveloped in cloud, and now a gentle breeze disperses the misty veil, and a bright world seems stretched at his feet. At one moment, he is in a solitude, at another in a cheerful hamlet : silence, uninterrupted but by his own voice or steps, reigns in the glen he has just entered ; he passes into another, and is greeted with the lowing of cattle, and the music of their bells. In one valley the soft murmurings of cascades and rills persuade him to rest ; in another, the roar of torrents and cataracts, admonish him to haste from the danger of falling fragments of rocks, that are shaken down by their violence. The dark pine forest is succeeded by a blooming orchard ; the glacier, by a vineyard ; and the angle of a mountain ridge will show the astonished traveller a corn-field on one side, and on the other a dark and barren rock, that towers to the skies.

But I must again have recourse to one of the most eloquent and descriptive of French writers, to help me with my picture. "La nature sembloit encore prendre plaisir à s'y mettre en opposition avec elle-même, tant on la trouvoit différente en un même lieu sous divers aspects. Au levant les fleurs du printems, au midi les fruits de l'automne, au nord les glaces de l'hiver : elle réunissoit toutes les saisons dans le même instant, tous les climats dans le même lieu, des terrains contraires sur le même sol, et formoit l'accord inconnu par-tout ailleurs des productions des plaines, et de celles des Alps. Ajoutez à tout cela les illusions de l'optique, les points des monts différemment éclairées, le clair-obscur du soleil et des ombres, et tous les accidents de lumière, qui en résultoient le matin, et le soir ; vous aurez quelque idée des scénes continuelles qui ne cessèrent d'attirer mon admiration, et qui sembloient m'être offertes en un vrai théâtre : car la perspective des monts étant verticale frappe les yeux tout-à-la-fois, et bien plus puissamment que celle des plaines, qui ne se voit qu'obliquement, en fuyant, et dont chaque objet vous en cache un autre."

Although we kept a constant look-out, we did not see any of the white hares, or large grey pheasants and partridges, which are frequently found in these parts ; nor were we favoured with a sight of the chamois, or of the extraordinary animal called bouquetin, which, like the chamois, is neither goat nor deer, but is between the two, and surpasses the chamois itself in fleetness, strength, and agility. Leger's account of this strange creature, and of the still stranger properties of its blood, though containing no absolute impossibility, yet hardly comes within the bounds of rational belief ; I allude only to the latter part of his story, the beginning is credible enough. He says, that when a person is afflicted with a violent cold, he has nothing to do, but to mix a few drops with a little wine or soup, to drink it off, and then cover himself up warmly, and lie down. A profuse perspiration will soon relieve him. The historian adds, that he himself tried an experiment, which may serve to throw some light upon the effect which the blood of the bouquetin has upon the human body. He took a small quantity of this blood congealed, and diluted it in wine: he then poured the liquid, so mixed, into a basin full of congealed blood, and it had the effect of liquifying the whole, and reducing it to the same consistency, as if it had just been taken from the body of the animal. Query: will this help to solve the mystery of the liquefaction of the blood of Saint Januarius?

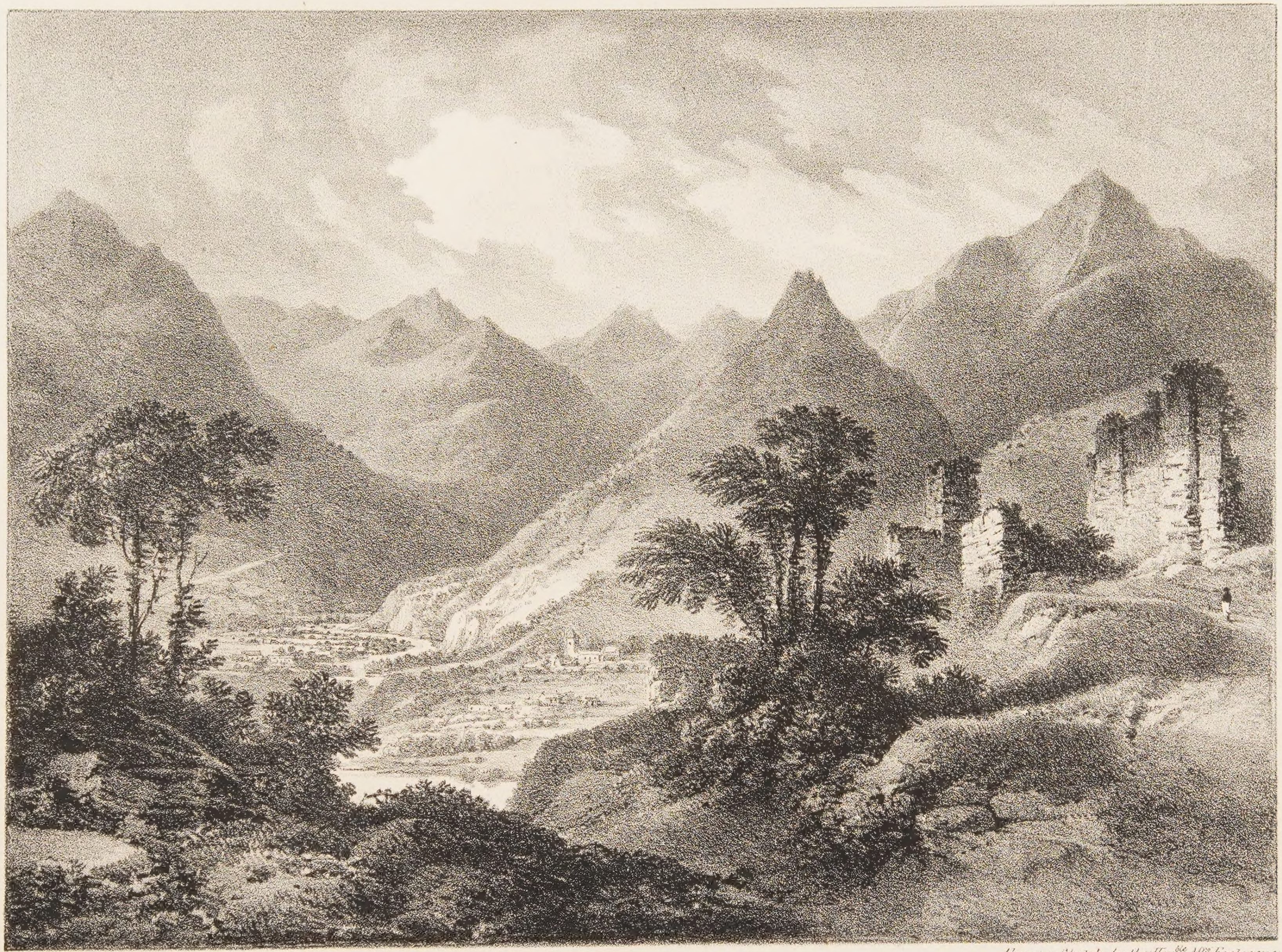
The same author's account of the *jumarre,* is equally puzzling to the incredulous, who have to set their own conviction with the veracious character of Leger. He observes: "This animal is the issue of an union between a bull and a mare, or a bull and an ass; the former, which is the larger of the two, is called *baf;* and the latter, *bif.* The upper jaw of the baf is longer than the lower, like a pig's; and the upper teeth are more separated from each other than the lower. On the contrary, the lower jaw of the bif is the longest, like that of a hare or rabbit; but the teeth project more. Neither the one nor the other can graze, except where the grass is very long. The head and tail resemble those of a bull; the rest of the body is like that of a horse, or an ass. Their strength is inconceivable: they are less in size than mules; eat but little, and travel with uncommon speed. I myself took a journey of eighteen leagues over the mountains, on the 13th of September, on one of these jumarres, and with much more ease than if I had been on horseback [x]."

Before we left the scenery of Angrogna, and took a last view of its matchless beauties, we looked down upon a vale, the sweetest

[x] LEGER, p. 7.

I ever saw, and which to this moment, after having seen the most lovely spots in Switzerland and Italy, I remember, rather as a delightful vision, than a real prospect. It lay in the midst of a circular chain of mountains, so sheltered and protected, that it looked as if no rough winds could ever visit it. The declivities which sloped down to it were clothed with trees of every description, among which were abundance of walnuts, mulberries, chesnuts, cherry, and other fruit trees. Its surface was as smooth and level as a village green in England, and retained much of its verdure, even at this season of the year. A clear stream ran gurgling through it, and one small cottage stood upon its margin. If ever there was a place calculated to realize the dreams of happiness in solitude, it is this, where nature appears under the most favourable circumstances. Peace seems amidst these rocks, and health in the air; the ills of society are excluded, but then the barrier, which shuts out those evils, is equally effective in shutting out its benefits. The man who has been used to cities is seldom qualified for the happiness of retirement; as long as his imagination is excited by the new aspect of nature, it is well; but that which we see every day we soon cease to admire, and habit dulls enthusiasm, without reconciling us to the solitude which has produced it. The inhabitants of remote valleys are not much alive to the attractions of local beauty; they do not borrow their notions of happiness from romance and sentiment; and those who do, and who fancy they could leave the bustle of life to dwell amidst rocks and valleys, will soon sigh to return to the world, and talk about the charms of seclusion. We may sometimes amuse ourselves with the idea, that the serenity which cannot be found in cities, may be discovered in solitudes. But to those who have once lived in society, it is change of scene which contributes to enjoyment.

Upon re-crossing the torrent, or Fiume d'Angrogna, we passed



Drawn by F. Nicholson

From a Sketch by the Hon$^{ble}$ M$^{rs}$ Fortescue

THE RUINS OF THE FORTRESS OF LA TORRE.

London Pub. by C. & J. Rivington S$^{t}$ Paul's Church Y$^{d}$ & Waterloo Place .. 1824.

Printed by C. Hullmandel

very near the dismantled and ruined fortress of La Torre, *il forte de la Torre.* The remains of the old tower, and its dilapidated walls, standing upon a bushy knoll, and shaded by a few venerable trees, is now regarded only as a picturesque object, where it was formerly the terror of the neighbourhood. The government always contrived to have it garrisoned by choice troops, and many a bloody fight, for its capture or recovery, has dyed the waters of the stream beneath it, which is now so limpid and transparent. The tower itself, and the ground upon which it stands, are the property of M. Vertu, who will most probably sacrifice the picturesque to the politic, and take care that not one stone shall remain above another, to be put into a state of repair, lest a new fortress should rise up at some future time, and once more become the terror of the people.

Upon our return to La Torre we took up our quarters at our comfortable inn, and fared and reposed as well as we could have done in one of the best hotels at Turin.

# CHAPTER VII.

*Fall of snow—Valley of San Martino—M. Bert—Vaudois soldier—The Pelice torrent—Game on the mountains—Anecdote—Traditionary tales—Le Bric Casteluzzo—Immense cavern—Industry of the Vaudois—The witness of the wilderness—Shrines—Le Pilori Taviere—Villaro—Inquisitors—Church of Villaro—Pastors of the Vaudois—Their ministerial labours—Attempts to seduce the Vaudois from their faith—Unsuccessful—The confessional—Popish rituals—The young penitent—Pope Braschi, Pius VI.—Anecdotes—Dominican monk—Testimonies in favour of the Vaudois—M. Gay, pastor of Villaro.*

On the morning that we meant to extend our excursions to some of the more distant villages of the Vaudois, we found, to our great disappointment, that a heavy fall of snow had rendered a visit to the valley of San Martino quite impracticable. Until we arrived at the country itself, we were not aware of its very formidable aspect, but we now learnt that the valley of San Martino can only be entered by the passes over the lofty mountains which encircle it, or by Le Pont de la Tour. For eight or nine months in the year the snow blocks up the mountain passes, and Le Pont de la Tour, is a defile between two natural walls of rock, barely wide enough to admit the waters of the Germanasca torrent. High above the bed of the river, one of those frightful Alpine bridges is flung across the chasm, consisting of the trunks of pine trees, supported at each end by the projecting crags of rock, which is merely intended to answer temporary purposes, and may be cut away, or tumbled into the abyss below at the shortest notice. In times of danger the bridge used to be destroyed, and then every access to the valley in this quarter was rendered impassable. These accounts of the valley of San Martino, and its impenetrable bulwarks, excited our curiosity, at the same time that they removed every hope of visiting them at this unseasonable period.

We were even informed that a walk to Villaro and Bobbio would be attended with some difficulty, if the snow continued. It fell in great flakes till past nine o'clock, but our anxiety to proceed induced M. Vertu the elder to offer to accompany us, and with his usual disinterested kindness, he gave up another day to our service. It snowed fast when we set out, and as M. Bert's house lay on our way, we were glad to take shelter for a few minutes under his roof. He has a small property, independent of his income as a pastor of the Vaudois church, and does not reside in the presbytery of La Torre, but in a good substantial dwelling of his own. The rooms are of an ample size, and are well fortified against the admission of cold, but the furniture and decorations, if indeed any thing there could admit of the latter designation, were of that humble kind, which corresponded with the general simplicity of the Vaudois. I do not recollect observing a single article but what was indispensable; neither elegance nor luxury was studied in any one respect; whitewashed walls, plain unpainted wainscot, uncarpeted floors, and uncurtained windows, must appear sadly comfortless to the strangers who visit this learned and respectable clergyman, who, if I am rightly informed, will succeed M. Peyrani as the primate, or moderator of the Waldenses[u].

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[u] I have lately been favoured with a letter from M. Bert, in which he informs me, that the synod has elected him to fill the chair of the lamented Peyrani, and that the government has sanctioned the election.

To our surprize two English faces presented themselves at M. Bert's, and we most cordially shook by the hand two very fine boys, the one twelve years of age, and the other nine, the sons of Captain Humphreys, of Stockport, who are receiving their education under the paternal care of the pastor of La Torre. The joy of these lads, at being accosted by their countrymen, exceeded all description: because we came from England they took it for granted that we must come also from their native county, and be acquainted with their families. We answered their questions as satisfactorily as we could, and lamented that we could not give a better account of Stockport, and the dear objects of their enquiry. The younger of the two had almost forgotten his own language, but the elder, a very intelligent lad, although he spoke it with a foreign accent, was not at any loss for expressions, but addressed us as fluently as if he had but lately left home. They had been three or four years at La Torre.

We pursued our walk from La Torre, and after a while the day cleared up, and the sun shone so brightly that we were glad to leave our great-coats at a cottage by the way. It was situated about a hundred and fifty yards up the slope of the mountain, in the midst of a groupe of ancient chesnut trees, some of which might vie with those on Mount Ætna itself, in size and height. The brother of the peasant, who occupied the cabin, served in the French army during the Russian campaign, and rose to the command of a company. He was pointed out to us at La Torre, as having received eleven wounds from the Cossacks, before Leipsic, and is now in the enjoyment of a pension of seven hundred and fifty francs a-year. With this pittance, small as it is, he calls himself happy, associates with the humblest of his former companions, and considers himself as loyal a subject of the king of Sardinia, as if he had never fought under the banners of the conqueror, who obliged his sovereign to take refuge amidst the rocks of Cagliari.

Our road lay due west from La Torre, upon the northern bank of the Pelice. The mountains sloped or broke down to it, and the river was rushing violently along a rocky channel, which encroaches so much upon the valley, as frequently to rob the cultivator of half his labours. The torrents sometimes swell this stream to such a height, that the whole of the lower grounds are flooded; and, in that case, the losses of the peasantry are quite ruinous. M. Vertu assured us, that he had three times seen every building swept away before the waters that poured from the heights. He did not mean the habitations of man, but the stone barns for hay and corn, which are erected within reach of these tremendous inundations.

The beauties of the landscape between La Torre and Villaro are not upon the same magnificent scale as those of Angrogna, but there was what could not fail to please. Vineyards extending up to the summits of the hills, gigantic trees shading the road, and dark brushwood contrasting with ridges and patches of snow that glistened above, offered every variety of tint and colouring; while the numerous cottages that spotted the sides of the mountains, imparted an air of cheerfulness to the scene, which never can be recognized unless the hand of man is visible. The woods and coppices which were seen from the road, made us inquisitive upon the subject of game. Partridges, grouse, and woodcocks, and particularly the latter, may be found in great abundance by the sportsmen who will encounter the fatigue of walking up the mountains; but he must have a keen taste for the chasse, who will follow a dog under a burning sun in August and September, and climb the rugged acclivities which overhang these romantic vales.

When a traveller speaks of the game which is to be found in these countries, he is not to be understood, as if the mountains produced any thing like the quantity, which is to be seen within the same space upon preserved manors in England.

The lynx and the wolf are not unfrequently discovered; and when parties are made in pursuit of these terrors of the sheepfold, it is indeed a royal sport; but it must be a very staunch hound which will persevere in the chase of a wolf. Whether it is from fear, from disinclination to hunt down an animal which is so allied to his own species, or from the coldness of the scent, it requires the utmost attention of the hunter to follow up, and urge on his dogs. When he can depend upon the breed and keenness of his hounds, and has vigour and fleetness to keep at no great distance from them, it is said the sport is exceedingly animating.

A year ago a young Englishman took up his abode at the little inn at La Torre, where we pitched our tent, and there remained for several days. We were curious to know what were his researches. Did he enquire much into the condition of the people? No. Did he ramble about the mountains, and admire the scenery? No. Did he sketch, and amuse himself with taking views? No. Did he come here for the purpose of study? No. Then he must have been very fond of the chasse, or passed his time in shooting? No, he never left the yard of the auberge. Then what did he do, and how did he employ his time? "*Oh, he was very wicked,*" said one of the daughters of the landlady, "and wanted to do a great deal of mischief." The attraction, it seems, was in doors, and not abroad: he was brought by accident to these innocent seclusions, and wanted to leave guilt and wretchedness behind him; but, happily, the object of his pursuit was too well fortified against his persuasions, repulsed his attentions, and escaped the net which was set for her.

The virtue of the Vaudois females is beyond all praise: their modesty of manner is so striking, that none but a thorough profligate could think of making improper advances. The young girls have such excellent patterns before them in their mothers, and in the married women in general, and such vigilant guardians over their morals, that the observation of a French writer, who well understood human nature, is strictly applicable to this virtuous race. " Quand les femmes feront leur devoir, soyez sur que les filles ne manqueront point au leur."

As we walked along, M. Vertu recounted many little interesting circumstances, connected with the history of the country: the inundations that overwhelmed the valley, the avalanches, or ecroulements, that had changed the face of the mountains; the chasms that had been filled up by sudden convulsions of nature, the battles that had been fought, and the deep recesses, amidst the rocks and forests, which had served as hiding-places in the days of persecution. On one spot the brave soldiers of a Protestant detachment had been hard pressed by a very superior number of assailants, and were upon the point of being obliged to retreat, when a thick fog covered the combatants, and occasioned a temporary cessation of the conflict. The Vaudois were so well acquainted with every pass, that they took advantage of the obscurity, made an unexpected detour, and attacked the enemy in the rear. The battle then re-commenced, upon the edge of a yawning precipice. The Popish party supposed that fresh troops were brought against them: their commander (Saquet) was hurled down the abyss, in the confusion of the fight, and the peasants remained masters of the field. The chasm, which, in consequence of this event, went by the name of Saquet, was filled up by a quantity of earth and stones, that rolled down from the mountains more than two hundred years ago; but the tradition still lingers over the spot, and the tale never fails the passing stranger, who seeks from his Vaudois guide the story of these mountains.

But of all the objects to which a legend is attached, none is more conspicuous or remarkable than the stupendous crag which rears its misshapen head above all the contiguous rocks and peaks, and is seen overhanging Villaro and La Torre, at the distance of several leagues. Who ever has once seen Le Bric Casteluzzo[y] can never forget it; and to hear, as we did, of the fearful deeds, which have been done under its dark brow, narrated by one of the descendants of the sufferers, leaves an impression, which the mere reader of such details can hardly fancy. But there is neither pleasure nor profit to the reader, in dwelling on the barbarities of other times; barbarities which are not likely to recur in an age like the present. It will be enough to state generally, that thousands were massacred, and many put to death with tortures of a more horrid and revolting nature than any recorded of the Spanish Inquisition; and that the most barbarous cruelty was united to indecency the most brutal and profligate. The very recital of these scenes would be sufficient to make the book that contained it, a scorn and a horror to society.

To escape from such dreadful treatment, the terrified inhabitants of the commune of La Torre contrived to make a secure hiding-place, into which they might escape from the pursuit of their tormentors. Near the lofty and projecting crag which soars above Mount Vaudelin, there was a natural cavern, which, it was found, might be hollowed out to answer their purpose. It was difficult of access, and capacious before they began to work upon it; but, when it was completed, it became a safe receptacle, in which between three and four hundred persons might conceal themselves, and at the same time lay in a supply of provisions for many days' consumption. This cavern was vaulted, and shaped not unlike an oven, with clefts in the rock, which served for windows, and even for loop-holes; and prepared with recesses, which answered the purpose of watch-houses, from whence they might observe the motions of their assailants. There were also several chambers within this vast cave, accommodations for cooking meat, and a large fountain, well supplied with water. It was impossible to enter it, except by one hole at the top; and those who were in the secret, could only let themselves down one at a time, and by a very slow and gradual process, with the assistance of steps, or foot-holes, cut in the rock. In fact, it was like descending into a mine; and one or two resolute men might easily defend the entrance against the assault of any force that could be brought against them. Such was the cavern of Vaudelin, or Casteluzzo; but we could not explore the spot, for the quantity of snow that had accumulated in the passes that led to it; nor am I able to say what is the present state of a retreat, which was once so often resorted to.

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[y] The word *bric*, seems to be a corruption of the Italian word *bricca*, a steep craggy place.

But though we were unable to satisfy ourselves as to the ingenuity of the former inhabitants of this region, in an examination of their asylum in the rocks, we saw enough to judge of the industry, and clever expedients, with which the present natives appropriate to their use tracts of land stolen from the rocks and the torrents. Where the sides of the mountain would be likely to fall in, they form terrace upon terrace, in many places not exceeding ten feet in breadth, and wall them up with huge piles of stone. Upon these terraces they sow their grain, or plant vines. In the same manner they rob the Pelice of part of his bed; and when they have brought a small plot of ground to bear, they surround it with an enclosure of stones, and protect it from the violence of the waters. Amidst the ruins of former labours, among black masses of rock, on projecting ridges of the mountain, on the brink of precipices, and on the margin of the torrent, these indefatigable mountaineers hazard their hopes; and in every possible place, and on the smallest spots where a blade of corn can be made to grow, there they raise a little wheat.

It is this extraordinary and indefatigable industry of the Vaudois, which has partly saved them from being dispossessed of the sterile land, which they are yet suffered to occupy. If they had been driven out of the country,[1] none would have been found to cultivate such an unprofitable soil, and the great landlords would have gone without their rents, and the government without its taxes. It not unfrequently happens, that the bad weather sets in before they have carried home the little corn that can be made to grow, or that the frost and snow cover the ground before they can put in the seed for another crop. In these cases, says Leger, the men are obliged to leave what little provisions are spared for the women and children, and to abandon their homes in search of work and subsistence. They return about Easter, with the scanty pittance they have earned, to satisfy the demands of the tax-gatherer, and to save their cattle or furniture, which would otherwise be seized.

At other times, the women themselves, that they may be able to purchase a small quantity of salt, which is very dear in these valleys, are forced to undertake long journeys of twenty or twenty-four miles, to Pinerolo, reckoning the distance there and back again, with immense loads upon their shoulders, *(vont porter des longues perches de melese;)* for which they do not receive above a livre. A stranger would be moved with compassion to see these poor creatures tottering under their burdens, and often sinking with exhaustion before they can reach their journey's end. Even in those places where the soil is more fertile, the labour is toilsome and disheartening. Carts and waggons cannot be used, except in a very few of the hamlets in the vales; horses and mules are beyond the purchase of most of the peasants; and the only way which many of them have of transporting their hay, corn, and wood, to places of security, or of carrying manure on the land, is by means of large baskets and crates, placed upon their own shoulders. Almost all the vineyards of the higher districts are made on rocky soil, where the earth, in which the vines take root, is brought in the first instance from a distant quarter, and afterwards retained in its place, in spite of the torrents and rains that threaten to wash it away, by expedients which require the constant labour and watchfulness of the vine-dresser.

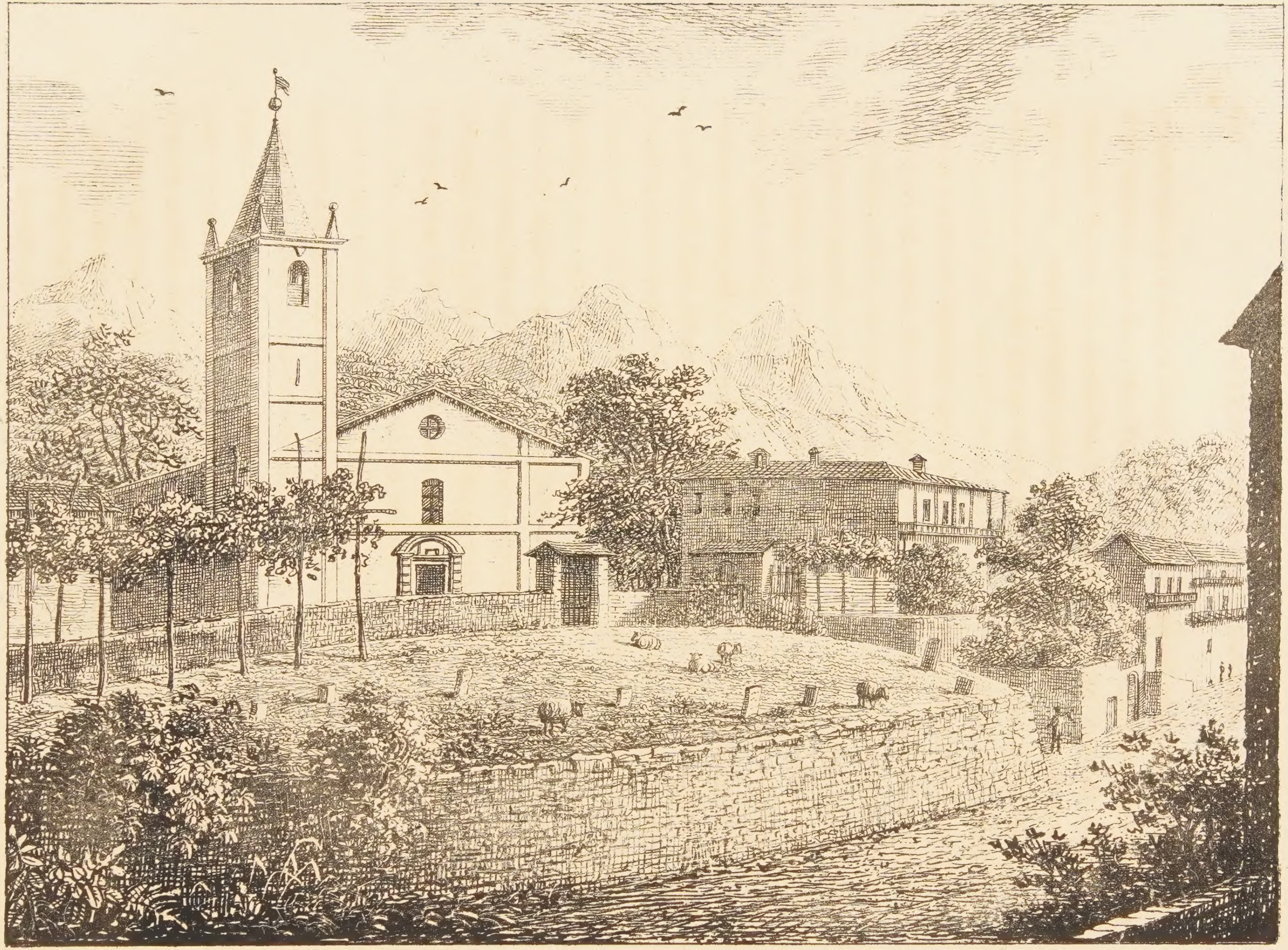
Some ecclesiastical writers have taken occasion to argue, from the barrenness of the soil, and the providential preservation of this little remnant of the true flock, that it is the church predicted in the book of Revelations, under the representation of the woman who fled into the wilderness from the fury of the dragon. " And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore years. And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might flee into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time and times and half a time, from the face of the serpent. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which kept the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus Christ." Revelations xii. 6. 14. 17.

Others say, that the prophecy of the eleventh chapter, and eleventh verse, relates to the restoration of the Vaudois, in the year 1690, after they had been banished from their country three years and a half. " And after three days and an half the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them." These three days and a half are thought to be prophetical days, and every day must be taken for a year.

The following extract, from Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, will be read with satisfaction by those who agree with that learned prelate; and the concluding anecdote will be considered one of the most extraordinary of the kind that ever was recorded.

"Bishop Lloyd, and after him Mr. Whiston, apply this prophecy to the poor Protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, who, by a cruel edict of their sovereign, the Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French king, were imprisoned, or murdered, or banished, and totally dissipated at the latter end of the year 1686. They were kindly received and succoured by the Protestant states; and, after awhile, secretly entering Savoy with their swords in their hands, they regained their ancient possessions, with great slaughter of their enemies; and the duke himself, having then left the French interest, granted them a full pardon, and re-established them by another edict, signed June 4, 1690; just three years and a half after their total dissipation. Bishop Lloyd not only understood the prophecy in this manner; but, what is very remarkable, made the application even before the event took place, as Mr. Whiston relates; *and upon this ground encouraged a refugee minister of the Vaudois, whose name was Jordan, to return home; and, returning, he heard the joyful news of the deliverance and restitution of his country.*" P. 614.

The same kind of scenery, with groves waving on the summits, and patches of green interspersed among dark masses of rock, or white banks of snow, continued as far as Villaro. The sound of the woodman's axe among the trees, and of the huge limbs or trunks of the felled chesnut, which are rolled down the slopes, and come thundering and re-echoing into the valley, was a new sort of music to our ears; and at first we mistook the loud



THE CHURCH, BURIAL GROUND; AND PRESBYTERY OF VILLARO reports, when they dashed against the hollow sides of the mountain, for the discharge of guns. A little before we entered Villaro, we passed by one of those Madonnas, or small shrines, erected in honour of the Virgin, so common in Italy, where the pious are often seen kneeling and offering up their supplications to the *mother of God.*

These idolatrous objects are offensive enough to the Protestants; but few as the Papists of these communes are in number, they preserve all their accustomed superstitions; and the former sometimes indulge in a little harmless humour, which reconciles them to such eye-sores. This shrine they call *Le Pilori Taviere,* or Taviere's pillory, in ridicule of a gallant Piemontese commandant, who thought it better to be raising his hands in prayer to the Virgin for success, than to mix in the fight with his troops, when they were opposing the march of the French into Villaro. During the revolutionary war, the invaders from France crossed the frontiers, to the amount of 5000 men, and attacked Villaro. The Vaudois defended it most resolutely, but the noble Taviere remained in security behind the stone walls of the Madonna, and from it despatched his aid-de-camp, to report how the engagement was going on. His head was seen occasionally peeping out of the shrine, and thence the joke of *Le Pilori.*

Villaro has nothing in its immediate vicinity either of the softer or more majestic beauties, which we had noticed in other parts of La Valle di Lucerna; and the painful sight of those shocking protuberances, the goitres, in the necks of many of the women and children, made us consider it the least inviting village of any that we had yet seen. Next to Angrogna, the population of Villaro is greater than either of the other communes; and as the extent of land in the parish is not equally large, there is every reason to believe that more poverty prevails here than elsewhere. The church was open; to arrive at it, we had to go through the greater part of the village, and up a narrow lane, by the side of the burial-ground. We found M. Gay, the pastor, catechizing some of the children of his flock. There were present forty-two boys, and twenty-eight girls; and they answered the questions which were put to them, with great readiness and correctness.

Upon this and all other occasions, when there was an opportunity of investigating the proficiency of the children, the result satisfied us, that their acquaintance with the sacred lessons of the Old and New Testament are not less extraordinary at the present time, than at those terrible periods of the history of the Waldenses, when inquisitors and commissioners were sent to make enquiries, which, it was hoped, would criminate these persecuted people. In most cases, they returned ashamed of the cruel business upon which they had been despatched, and made reports most creditable to the reputation of the accused. One declared that he had found persons who could repeat the whole of the New Testament by heart; another confessed that he had never heard so much of the Scriptures as during his conferences with these heretics: but the most remarkable testimony was delivered by a young disputant in theology, who made a journey on purpose to have the honour of confuting the erroneous opinions of these incorrigible schismatics, as he called them. Expectation was raised by the well-known character of the confident polemic; but what was the astonishment of his friends, when he came back, and in a public oration avowed, that he had learnt more of the doctrine of salvation, from the answers of little Vaudois children in their catechism, than in all his previous readings or disputations.

The church of Villaro is large and airy, but by no means handsome. Most of the churches of the Vaudois have bells, and towers or steeples, some of them certainly very small; and in appearance and character they bear every resemblance to what we consider to be the church construction. All the churches are opened for some kind of service four times in the week. On Sundays, for the Sabbath-day duties, on Mondays and Wednesdays for catechetical instructions, which commence and end with prayers; and on Thursdays, for prayers and a sermon. The parochial duties of the ministers are accordingly extremely heavy, and scarcely allow them any respite whatever; for the old and the sick, as well as the young, have the benefit of their unremitting attentions, and the composition of their sermons take up no small share of their weekly time. These sermons are not delivered extempore, but are written out, learnt by heart, and preached from memory.

Several of the clergy have been forced to submit to daily labour for their subsistence. This has happened lately; and it was made a matter of serious charge against their community, about three hundred years ago, when it was said, among other false accusations, that they *compelled* their pastors to follow some occupation, inconsistent with their sacred calling. The answer then made would apply to their present condition. "We do not hold that our pastors ought to work for their bread. They might be better qualified to instruct us, if we could maintain them without their own labour, but our poverty has no remedy."

Knowing the very limited incomes of these excellent men, I asked why the pastors did not unite the office of school-master in their own persons, as there is a regular provision for the school-masters, which would be a material addition to their salaries. The reply was, that the ministers have labours too complicated already to allow of their undertaking any more; and the wife of one of them assured me, that her husband sometimes returned from his walks, in a state of the most alarming exhaustion: that his flock was so scattered about the mountains, and put him in such constant requisition, that it was impossible his health could stand the fatigue and agitation, which his pastoral visits occasioned. These good shepherds are summoned upon all matters where their assistance and advice can be of service,—to console the afflicted, to confirm the wavering, to refute the arguments of Roman Catholic missionaries, and to administer an antidote to the poison instilled by them; to reconcile differences, and prevent disputes. It is thus that they obey the Apostle's injunction, and "*warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble minded, and support the weak.*" The least relaxation, in their vigilance or exertions, would hazard not only their own reputation, but the safety of the fold; the wolf would get in, and seize his prey.

It is quite wonderful that so small a remnant as 20,000, who have but thirteen spiritual guides, should have preserved their integrity, and continue to adhere to the faith of their ancestors, amidst all the arts and bribes and terrors, which have been constantly held out to induce them to enter within the pale of the Roman Church. Offers of the most tempting nature, sums of money, pensions for life, public employments, rank in the army, and grants of land are notoriously proffered to those who will change their religion; but poor and destitute as many of the objects are, to whom these tempting proposals are made, it rarely happens that an apostate can be found. Hitherto a variety of circumstances has operated in favour of keeping the Vaudois a detached people, and in giving force to the exhortations of the clergy. Active persecution is always a stimulus: intolerance exasperates and hardens the heart in its predilections and prejudices, instead of subduing it. The little intercourse, which these mountaineers had formerly with the world, also assisted in the preservation of their faith; they acquired no taste for the different sort of life which a change of religion held forth, but now it is to be feared, lest a long communication with the French, and enlistment in their armies, may have given them a desire for what is not attainable in the solitudes of the Alps. Add to this, they were for a long time like a cherished spot, which their brethren, of the Protestant faith in other countries, would not suffer to be blotted out from the face of the earth, and they took pride in knowing that the eyes of men were upon them.

But at present they are more neglected and overlooked; they have been placed in a condition which they would like to resume; they have been in the enjoyment of privileges which they sigh to have restored, and their pastors, instead of being pensioned and supported, as they used to be, are left to struggle with difficulties and deprivations, which the spirit of man is sometimes too feeble to bear. Under all these circumstances, it never was so much an imperative duty to give a helping hand to the Vaudois clergy, as at present, and to promote the circulation of Christian knowledge among their flocks, by a more regular and liberal supply of books. Elementary instruction is already imparted, in a manner which does credit to the pastors and school-masters, but food must be provided for the minds of the children, beyond the common hours of instruction, that they may be fortified against the seductive means, which are actively employed to separate them from their families, and induce them to apostatize.

None but those who have intermixed a great deal with Roman Catholics, and in countries, where the imposing services of the Roman church are performed with theatrical attention to effect, can have any idea of the influence, which the Popish priesthood holds over weak minds. Whatever can affect a lively imagination, a romantic turn of understanding, a warm temperament, a nervous constitution, or a sensitive heart, is employed in the public rites, and in the secret practices of the clergy. There is nothing of simplicity in the character of the Romish religion : it is all mysticism, symbol, and delusion. The avowal has been made by one of its most eloquent advocates, " in the regions of the south, where the sky is bright, and nature bountiful, where the heart is warm, and the imagination active, external demonstrations have ever been employed to express feelings too big for utterance, and external shews introduced to convey impressions, and excite sentiments, grand and sublime beyond the reach of ordinary language [z]."

But such external shews and external demonstrations only serve to heat the fancy, and substitute a dangerous enthusiasm, in the place of that genuine and rational adoration, which, springing from the mind, can only perish with the mind. Confessions, breathed into the ear of an indulgent confessor [a], and secret in-

[z] Eustace, Vol. II. p. 529.

[a] Hear what Mr. White says, the author of Doblado's Letters, who was educated abroad, in a Roman Catholic college, and ordained a priest of the Roman Catholic church, but afterwards renounced the errors of Rome, and became a minister of the Protestant church.

" The necessity of confession, seen at a distance, is lighter than a feather in the balance of desire, while at a subsequent period it becomes a punishment on delicacy—an instrument to blunt the moral sense, by multiplying the subjects of remorse, and directing its greatest terrors against imaginary crimes. These evils affect nearly equally the two sexes ; but there are some that fall peculiarly to the lot of the softer. Yet the remotest of all, at least as long as the inquisition shall exist, is the danger of direct seduction from the priest. The formidable powers of that odious tribunal have been so skilfully arrayed against the abuse of sacramental trust, that few are found base and blind enough to make the confessional a *direct* instrument of debauch. The strictest delicacy however is, I believe, inadequate fully to oppose the demoralizing tendency of auricular confession. Without the slightest responsibility, and, not unfrequently, in the conscientious discharge of what he believes his duty, the confessor conveys to the female mind the first foul breath, which dims its virgin purity. He undoubtedly has a right to interrogate upon subjects, which are justly deemed awkward even for maternal confidence;

clinations confided to one, who is expected to whisper assurances of absolution, but seldom produce amendment. It happens to me, at this moment, to know a young Catholic female, whose mind is agonized by a sentiment of more than spiritual affection, which she entertains for her confessor. What she calls his graceful performance of the sacerdotal functions, and his majestic appearance before the altar, clad in the splendid robes of his sacred office, compared with his mild and persuasive gentleness, when he assists her private devotions, have inspired this fatal passion; not because she is more susceptible than the rest of her sex, or that he takes undue advantage of her sensibility, but because the pomp and ceremonies of the Roman Church, and the relation between the priest, and the youthful members of a family, where he is venerated as a being of superior intelligence, are calculated to produce such impressions.

There is an anecdote told of Pope Braschi, who assumed the name of Pius the Sixth, which shews, that the Roman Catholic clergy set no little value upon the assistance, that may be derived from personal appearance. Upon an occasion when that pontiff was passing through a street of Rome, and was carried along in his papal chair, with a splendour suitable to his dignity, a voice was heard from one of the windows, which was crowded with admiring spectators. It was that of a young lady of rank. *Quanto è bello—quanto è bello. How handsome he is,* cried she, in a moment of enthusiasm. An old woman, in haste to correct any

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and it would require more than common simplicity to suppose, that a discretionary power of this nature, left in the hands of thousands, men beset with more than common temptations to abuse it, will generally be exercised with proper caution."

It is notorious, and will be attested by all who have seen them, that the books of religious instruction, which are put into the hands of young Catholics, particularly those touching auricular confession, are indecent, gross, and filthy, beyond all conception.

thing that might appear too profane in this exclamation, replied, with her hands joined, and her eyes lifted up to heaven, *Tanto è bello, quanto è santo. He is holy as he is handsome.* It is said, that such a compliment gave Pius the Sixth more secret satisfaction, than all the incense lavished upon him by the prelates at the altar, and all the genuflexions of the sacred college [b].

There are several English ladies who have acknowledged, in my hearing, that they have more *pleasure* in attending the service of the Roman church than their own, but pleasure surely is not the aim of any form of worship; if it be, I should conceive, that such an aim might be more certainly reached, with most people, by means of the ball-room or the theatre, than by any religious paraphernalia, however strongly such adjuncts might appeal to the senses. " The grand spectacle of an illuminated cathedral," and " the music of psalms tuned to the modulation of Greek choruses," may be more pleasing to the fancy than the " dull services" of a parish church in England, or of a lowly temple at the foot of the Alps ; but until the morals of the votaries, who kneel before the burning cross of St. Peter's, on the solemn vigil of the resurrection, are believed to be as pure as those of the peasantry of my own country, or of the Protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Piemont, I shall continue to feel persuaded, that simplicity of worship is the best promoter of active and efficient religion.

All that I heard and saw gave me the gratifying assurance, that the Vaudois of the present day are not unworthy of the character, which was wrung, in times past, from some of their bitterest enemies, even when employed in endeavouring to detect a subject for criminal accusations. " I wish," said one of these inquisitors, in a moment of remorse, for having been instrumental in persecuting the Waldenses of Frassiniere, when that valley was inhabited by the professors of the Protestant faith, " I wish that I were as good a Christian, as the worst of them !" This man was constrained, by the force of truth, to make such a report to Lewis the Twelfth of France, that he at once silenced the importunities of his advisers, exclaiming in a force of indignation, which put an end to their importunities, " By the holy mother of God, these heretics, whom you urge me to destroy, are better men than you, or myself, or any of my subjects."

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[b] Annual Register, 1799.

" I allow," said a furious Dominican monk, whose zeal was not much less furious than that of the inhuman Dominic, the founder of his order, and the firebrand who kindled the flames of the inquisition, " I allow, in morals and life, they are good, true in words, and unanimous in brotherly love, but their faith is incorrigible and vile[c]." The observation of the author from whom I have taken this anecdote is unanswerable; " How could the Romanist suppose that the faith of men could be bad, whose fruits were so excellent ; could he shew such fruits in the Roman church in general at that time ?"

When the Protestant Vaudois extended into the province of Saluzzo, or Marquisate of Saluches, then under the French sovereignty, the governor, Birague, received orders from his court, to commence an active search after all such as refused to attend the celebration of mass, and to put them to death. The governor communicated the orders to his council. A Catholic archdeacon who was present, rose, and made the following bold and honest remonstrance, in favour of these proscribed victims. " Assuredly his majesty the King of France must have received some very false, and malicious information, concerning these poor people. We must delay the execution of his edict, until his majesty can be made acquainted with the real character of this portion of his Italian subjects, who are good and honourable men, well disposed, and faithful in his service, and live peaceably with their Catholic neighbours." This manly and candid testimony, so honourable both to the Protestants and their amiable advocate, was the means of saving their lives, for that time at least. The murderous intention was at first suspended, and afterwards abandoned till another opportunity.

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[c] Milner.

But a still more affecting proof of the high estimation, in which the moral character of the Vaudois was held, even by those who would have gladly seen their extermination, occurred at La Torre, about the year 1560. Emanuel Philibert, the reigning Duke of Savoy at that period, was favourably inclined towards his Protestant subjects, and, for a length of time, resisted all the importunities, which were made to every new sovereign, to give a proof of his zeal for the holy Catholic faith, by publishing fresh penal laws against heretics. The perseverance of the bigoted Philip II. of Spain, at length prevailed over the Duke's scruples of humanity, and a lighted torch was once more thrown into these devoted valleys. A sanguinary army carried fire and sword into every village; and no other expedient was left, but for the Vaudois to abandon the low country, and take refuge among the mountains, while the enemy occupied San Giovanni, La Torre, and Villaro. The Roman Catholic families would have remained; but the licentious conduct of the soldiery was such, that all the young females of La Torre put themselves under the protection of the Protestants, who had retired behind the fastnesses of Angrogna, rather than be exposed to the brutality of men, who came to extirpate heresy, and vindicate the honour of the Roman Catholic religion [d].

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[d] This anecdote is confirmed by Thuanus, an historian who hated the Vaudois, but was too candid to withhold the truth. His words are these: " Præcipue cas-

Two hundred years ago, in the midst of the bitterest animosities, the honesty and attachment of Vaudois servants were so generally acknowledged, that, it was well known, none of the Catholic nobility of the provinces would hire persons of their own faith, as long as they could persuade the Protestants to enter their service[e]. It is the same at the present day; and I was repeatedly assured, both at Turin and Genoa, that the Vaudois servants are preferred to all others.

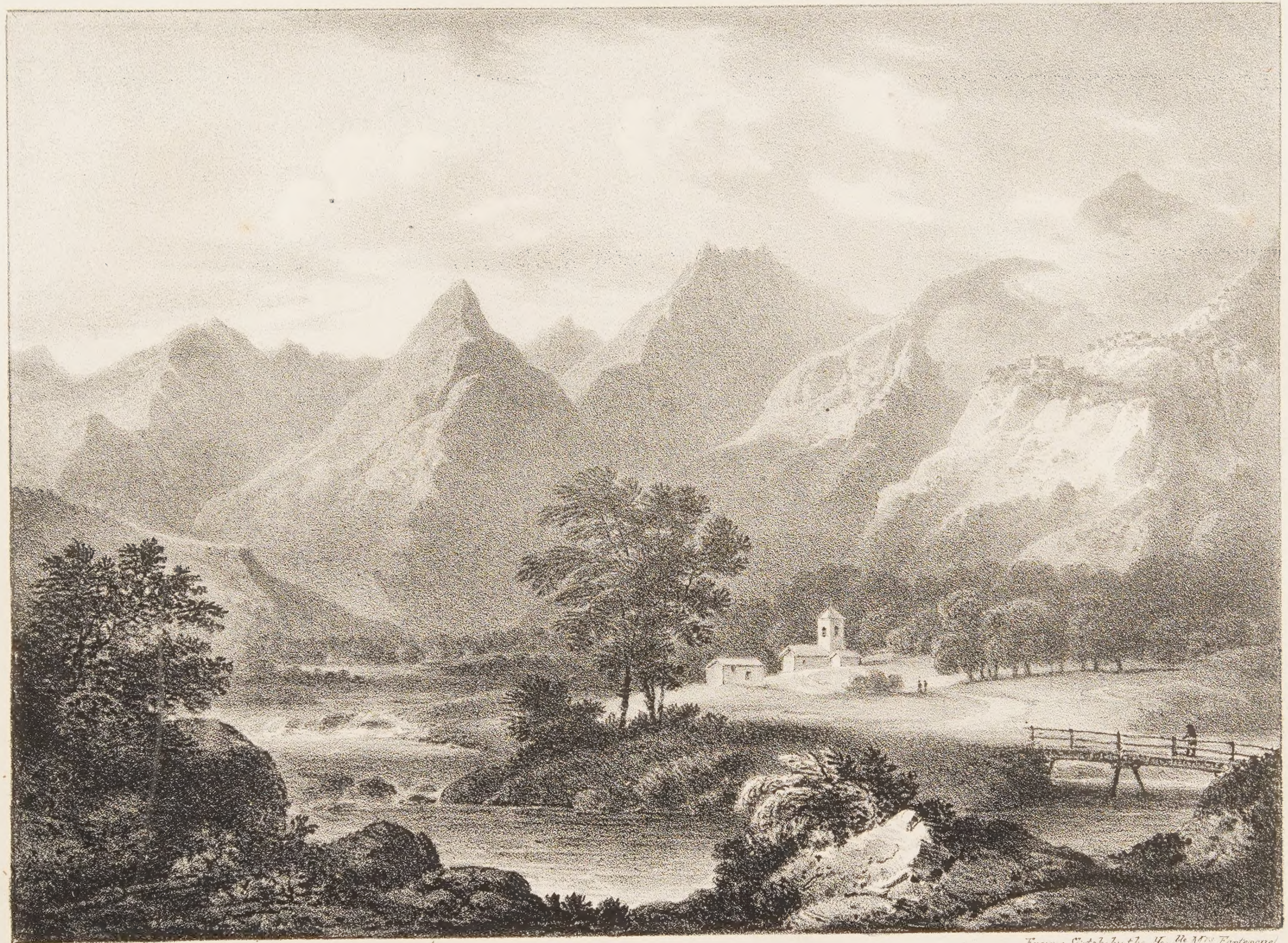
M. Gay, the pastor of Villaro, was so deeply engaged with his pastoral duties, that we had the benefit of very little of his conversation. His parish is considered the least healthy of any in the valley of Lucerna; and we observed that his countenance and voice indicated illness. He is about thirty-six, or thirty-seven years of age, has a young family to add to his anxieties, and seems well qualified to give them an education above the humble sphere of their probable destination. The manners and acquirements of M. Gay are of a degree beyond what is expected at a place like Villaro, which reminded me very much of some of our small fishing towns in England. The presbytery of this parish, which stands close to the church, is a good-sized house, with some airy rooms; but it is not fitted up, or furnished, with any attention to comfort, much less to taste or appearance. The

titatis cura et honos inter Valdenses, adeo ut Vicini, qui alioqui ab eorum religione alieni erant, ut filiarùm suarum pudicitiæ consulerent, vim a licentioso milite veriti, eas Valdensium curæ et fidelitati committebant."

"The chastity of the Waldenses is so well known, and held in such high repute, that their neighbours, who were at variance with them on subjects of religion, entrusted the honour of their daughters to their protection and fidelity, when they were fearful of the consequences that might result from the presence of a licentious soldiery."

[e] Les Gentils-hommes, Seigneurs des lieux, et autres Catholiques aiment mieux encore des serviteurs et des servantes d'entre les notres, que les leurs propres. VIGNEAUX.

furniture was scarcely sufficient for the wants of a family. As we entered by a door, the window frame of which was unglazed, and is left open in the summer, we observed that paper was pasted on, as a substitute for glass. This paper was torn from a copy-book, or exercise book, and contained the conjugation of a French and English verb. M. Gay understands English, and is teaching it to his children.



Drawn by F. Nicholson

From a Sketch by the Hon$^{ble}$ M$^{rs}$ Fortescue.

BOBBIO, OR BOBI.

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# CHAPTER VIII.

*Bobbio—Magnificent scenery—Breakwater or rampart of Bobbio—Anecdote—Humanity of the Vaudois—Catechetical instruction—Church of Bobbio—M. Muston, pastor of Bobbio—Repast at the Presbytery—Papists and the second Commandment—Infant baptism—Vaudois, not fanatics—Anecdote—A rural sketch—Retrospect—Henri Arnaud—Enterprizing achievement—March of the exiles—La Roche Blanche—The pass of Salabertrand forced—Martial enthusiasm—Anecdote of Arnaud—Intrepidity of the Vaudois—Fastnesses of San Martino—Guerilla warfare—Fortress of Baceglia—Tremendous pass—Sanguinary conflicts—Affecting anecdote—Termination of the contest—Boyer's narrative.*

From Villaro to Bobbio the road still pursues a due westerly direction, up the banks of the Pelice. The defile opens a little as you advance; and when Bobbio first breaks upon the view, the prospect is one of the most magnificent that mountain scenery presents. The mountains themselves seem to retire, and at the same time to rise in height by irregular swells and gradations, in order to form an amphitheatre of such vastness and beauty, that the traveller must pause, and contemplate the awful picture in front of him, before he approaches to make a nearer examination. To the right the Col d'Aliries lifts up his head far above a succession of ridges, which rise majestically from their rocky basement; and, to the left, the gigantic peak of Mount Viso is seen glistening at one moment in the sun, and at another half enveloped in passing clouds. The enormous masses soar one above another, summit above summit, and crag above crag;

each appears at times to be the loftiest of the chain, until a current of wind blows away the misty veil, which conceals the still more elevated eminence in its rear.

Such was the back ground of this grand picture; the foreground was equally glorious. We had been ascending ever since we left La Torre, a distance of about six miles, and were still on the ascent; but the environs of Bobbio form a vale at the foot of a semi-circular range of mountains, which look as if they only now begin to soar. The face of this vale, had much variety of aspect and colouring, even after a fall of snow; and there were yet a few green spots left, in sheltered nooks, or on sunny banks, whose cheerful verdure took away from the gloom, which gray rocks and dark pines, intermixed with long tracts of snow or masses of ice, would otherwise have thrown over the landscape. Every kind of tree and shrub, that the soil of this region produces, from the stately walnut to the drooping fruit tree, clothed the banks of the innumerable streamlets that pour into the Pelice, and stand so thick, that when seen at a distance, they look like a grove in front of the village, to protect it from the keen east winds, that blow up the valley of Lucerna. Of this valley, Bobbio is the extreme commune, for it is here that the higher chain of the Cottian Alps lock in the valley, and form its barrier between France and Piemont. There is a pass which traverses the Col de la Croix, by which the traveller may reach the frontier in one day.

As you approach Bobbio, the Roman Catholic church, and vicarage, are the two first objects that attract attention. The Protestant church is nearly in the centre of the village, and is discovered by the three windows which appear at the east end. The tower, or belfry, is separated from the church by the burial ground, and is built upon a rock. The presbytery stands very near.

It is impossible to take a first view of this most picturesque village, without fancying that it is capable of providing a secure retreat against all the storms of life. But its vicinity to the frontiers of France, and its exposure to the first brunt of border warfare, with its position under mountains, which pour their torrents with such violence into its bosom, as to threaten a general inundation, will soon shew the enquiring visitor, that it is far from being the sheltered corner of his imagination. In fact, there are few of the Protestant communes, which have suffered more than this, both from the aggressions of man, and the fury of the elements.

Twice Bobbio has been entirely destroyed by inundations: hundreds of the inhabitants, almost all their cattle, and every habitation in the vale, have been washed away, by the tremendous force of the waters, which rush like a deluge from the steeps, when the snows melt with more than common rapidity. A rampart, or breakwater, was erected with the assistance of a subscription raised in Holland, about a hundred and twenty years ago, to protect the village from such fearful visitations. We walked to look at this breakwater, and such a spectacle is beheld at its extreme point, as makes the whole frame shudder. A foaming torrent is seen rolling from the mountains, rushing with impetuous haste, and menacing the very piers on which you stand; then precipitating itself over fragments of rock, dashing blocks of stone against the wall, which is built to check its violence, and roaring as if a hundred battering rams were in motion against the jetty. Nature's horrors, and man's resolute perseverance in endeavouring to counteract them, were finely displayed on this spot; and we could judge, from the state of the torrent at this time of the year, what the Pelice must be in the season when it is swelled by continual rains, and the melting of the snows.

But Bobbio has obtained a still more imperishable reputation from its deeds of humanity, than even from its grand work of industry, the breakwater of the Pelice. In the terrible conflicts between the French and the allied armies in 1799, the sick and the wounded of the contending forces received attentions, which were acknowledged, in general orders, by the commanders-in-chief of the French, Russians, and Austrians. But the resources of the villagers were at length so much exhausted, that the means of rendering further assistance were denied them; and, in this destitute condition, their Christian charity hit upon a scheme, which perhaps never before entered the head of persons so situated. "We cannot relieve you any longer," they said to a French party then quartered on them, "our poverty has nothing left; but since our homes can be no asylum to you, we will carry you to your own." The thing seemed impossible: how could men who were suffering under the intolerable anguish of dangerous wounds, be transported over the mountains? They could not walk, and their maimed limbs would not allow them to ride. "We will convey you on our own shoulders," was the reply of these good Samaritans of Bobbio: and they did so. They prepared litters, which answered their benevolent purpose; and in this way, upwards of three hundred wounded French soldiers were carried over the Alps, and safely set down in their own country.

It is said that M. Rostain, the late pastor of Bobbio, suggested this most humane scheme, after having expended all he was worth in the world in aid of the sufferers, whom the evils of war had recommended to his humanity, without regard to national prejudices, or enquiring whether the objects of his pity were friends or foes.

This good man toiled afterwards as a day-labourer, to put bread into the mouths of his children, and soon fell a victim to his exertions. Poverty and oppression broke his heart, and the necessaries of life were not to be procured at a period of his existence, when he had no longer strength to bear up against deprivations: but his charity did not meet with charity.

At the restoration of the legitimate dynasty, two clergymen's widows were turned out of their habitation, in the middle of winter, to make way for a Catholic priest, who had a small hamlet assigned to him for a benefice, where himself and his woman servant were the only two belonging to the Roman church. I have reason to fear that the widow of the unfortunate and ill-requited Rostain, was one of these widows, who were so cruelly dispossessed.

We found M. Muston, the present pastor of Bobbio, in his church, engaged in the same duty as M. Gay had been at Villaro, that is, in giving instruction to his young flock, fifty-six boys, and thirty-two girls. He had almost finished when we entered, and was then occupied in delivering the customary address, which follows the catechism. He did it with much judgment, and considerable effect; and as I noticed his earnest manner and paternal anxiety to impress upon his youthful hearers the importance of what he had been explaining, I could not but feel pain under the recollection of the imperfect mode, in which we too commonly discharge this duty in England.

The Bishop of London's late impressive Charge[f] upon this subject occurred to my mind, and I saw before me a most forcible illustration of the arguments used by that excellent prelate, when he drew a picture of the affecting relation, which must exist between a parish-priest and the younger part of his flock, if catechetical lessons are regularly and zealously imparted. In fact, the very greatest of all opportunities is lost, when a clergyman is unable, or unwilling to give up a stated portion of his time to the children of his parish. He loses an influence over the minds, and a hold upon the affections, which might be turned to the best advantage. The Papists are not blind to this truth: they catechize with strict punctuality; and in several places where I witnessed this service, it was performed with the same patience, good humour, and earnestness, which we noticed in the Waldensian pastors.

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[f] "The general disuse into which this practice has fallen, I consider as calamitous to the interests of piety in the highest degree, not only by removing one of the strongest incitements to the parents to teach, and to the children to learn, the doctrines and laws of their Christian profession, but still more by its fatal effect in frustrating the purpose, which it was the principal object of the ordinances relating to these points to attain. If at the age when the mind is susceptible of the strongest

The church of Bobbio is an old building, large, cold, and undecorated. Our feet were wet when we entered it, we were warm with walking, and before we came out again, we were trembling with cold. Opposite to the pulpit was an inscription expressive of the moderation, charity, piety, and *loyalty* of the oppressed and slandered Vaudois. "Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the king." I do not re-

impressions, the young are regularly brought into personal intercourse with their minister, and accustomed to receive their instructions from his lips, they will naturally imbibe a respect for his person, and a reverence to the sacred character of his office, which will prove the strongest of barriers against immorality and vice, as well as dissent and infidelity. They will regard with deep veneration the truths which they have received upon his authority, and will feel, what reasoning can hardly make clear to the ignorant, the danger no less of guilt than of error, in deserting the appointed guide of their youth for intrusive and unknown teachers. The discontinuance of this salutary practice is imputable, neither to the neglect of the ecclesiastical governors,—for they have constantly remonstrated against it—nor to the indolence of the parochial clergy; but was a concession most reluctantly yielded to the fastidious impatience of their congregations."—See a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, at the Visitation in July 1822, by William, Lord Bishop of London.

member ever having seen a village church, which bears any resemblance to this. Its walls are strengthened by enormous buttresses, which arch up towards the roof in a very singular manner. The roof itself is constructed with large rafters, and beams stretched across from one side to the other, so that there is altogether a peculiarity of architectural design, and a studied air of massiveness, which looks as if those, who built this church, were apprehensive, lest nothing short of very uncommon precautions could protect it against the inundations, which so frequently threaten the valley.

As soon as we left the church, M. Muston accosted us in that frank and unreserved tone, which distinguishes these kind-hearted people, and gave us a cordial invitation to his house, where we were introduced to his wife and young family. There were no fires when we first went in, but he saw that we were shivering with cold, and a blazing hearth was soon ready to comfort us. Small pans, or vessels of charcoal, were brought for us to put our feet upon, and our hospitable host never ceased to replenish the fuel in the fire-place, " Ligna super ignem large reponens," until he saw that we were relieved from the excessive chilliness, which we brought with us out of his cold damp church. The apartment, in which M. Muston welcomed us to his presbytery, was spacious and more comfortably furnished than any we had yet seen. It had the unusual luxury of a sofa, and stuffed chairs, and the walls, or rather wainscoting, of walnut wood, was hung with drawings from M. Muston's own pencil. They were principally sketches of scenery in Switzerland.

The manners of the pastor of Bobbio were simple and agreeable, and had all that warmth and openness which make the stranger feel at home : they were those of the plain good man, whose only wish seemed to be to live and die among his own people. He insisted upon our partaking of his family-dinner, and his kind-hearted wife, an engaging young woman of about twenty-six years of age, busied herself to prepare the repast, while he himself answered all our questions, interrogated us in his turn, and appeared as contented and happy, as if he were in undisturbed possession of the whole valley, where he is but the minister of a secluded parish.

At last the cloth was laid, the table prepared, and the banquet spread, and never did a party sit down with better appetite to a meal, or with a warmer welcome. It was all the produce of the presbytery and of the presbyter's land, for happily the present pastor of Bobbio, unlike his ill-fated predecessor, has a few acres which he can call his own. He has his little vineyard, and garden and orchard. He has his pasture for his cows and goats, a moderate extent of arable ground, and a stream of water to irrigate them. With this snug farm he was proud in giving us to understand, that the bread was home baked, the butter and cheese home made, and the wine home pressed. The sausages were of pork fatted in his own sty, and the filberts, chesnuts, and white pippins were gathered from his own trees. Nor did he omit to tell us that his wife had prepared the sausages, the apple-fritters, and the baked pears. In truth they did credit to her housewifery; and when he expressed a wish that he had known of our coming, in time to provide something better, we told him with perfect truth, that it was impossible to sit down to a dinner, which we could have enjoyed more than this pastoral feast.

> Dapes inemptas apparet,
> Non me Lucrina javerint conchylia,
> Magis ve Rhombus aut scari—
> Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,
> Non attagen Ionicus
> Jucundior————
>
> Hor. Epod. ii.

Clean table-linen is an article as abundant, perhaps, in these Alpine retirements as in the most frequented villages in England. It was therefore nothing new to see a napkin placed by the side of each of our plates; but there were things that did not correspond with this luxury. The knives and forks were of the very coarsest workmanship: the spoons were of iron, and the plates and dishes of very ordinary brown ware. But, can the kind welcome, the simple fare, and the unaffected hospitality of the amiable minister of Bobbio, ever pass from my grateful recollection?

The duty in which M. Muston was engaged when we entered his church, gave the principal turn to our conversation, and it was satisfactory to find, how deeply sensible the Vaudois Protestants have ever been of the necessity, of giving a spiritual interpretation to the commandments, and of applying their injunctions to the desires of the heart, as well as to the government of the body. We were shewn several comments of this tendency, on which the pastors are expected to build their own expositions. On the subject of the second commandment these comments dwell with all that force, and nicety of explanation, which were required, in the early period of their church, to shew how heartily they abhorred the unscriptural and dangerous errors, into which the Papists had fallen, in the very face of some of the plainest denunciations, both in the Old and New Testament. The catechisms, in use among the Vaudois, have every article of the decalogue verbatim, as we recite it ourselves, and of course the second commandment[g], with each of its clauses, is among the number.

Every thinking Protestant knows, that the Roman Catholic clergy cannot reconcile their practice of adoring the saints, and prostrating themselves before images, with the positive mandate against such acts: they therefore leave it out entirely, and divide the tenth into two, to make up the number. A Popish spelling-book, which was shewn to me during my visit to the valleys, and entitled, " Correttissima santa croce per istruzione de' fanciulli," or " A corrected *Christ's cross row* for the instruction of infants," contains the following curious version of the decalogue, in which the second and fourth commandments are both omitted, and an injunction for the observing of *festival days* is substituted for the command, that we should sanctify the Sabbath.

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[g] In a very old manuscript, in which is found a copious exposition of the doctrines of the Vaudois, the sixth *Echantillon* quotes the words of the second commandment, as they are now learnt by the young catechumens of the present day.

1. I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt not have another God before me.
2. Take not God's name in vain.
3. Remember to keep the festivals holy.
4. Honour thy father and mother.
5. Do not kill.
6. Do not commit adultery.
7. Do not steal.
8. Do not bear false witness.
9. Do not covet another's goods.
10. Do not covet another's wife.

From infant instruction we came to the discussion of infant baptism, and nothing can be more false than the calumny, that the Vaudois object to infant baptism. One of the arguments used by the petitioners of the commune of San Giovanni, when they implored permission to re-open their new church, was, that in the winter time their poor infants suffered dreadfully from the severity of the cold, in being carried to such a distance as Angrogna to be publicly baptized. They have even a formulary of baptism, very much like that in use by the Church of England, and the service begins thus.

"You present *this infant* to be baptized?"

The ninth Echantillon of the old manuscript exposition, to which I before alluded, gives this explanation of the baptismal ceremony, and leaves it to the discretion of the parties, to have the rite performed by sprinkling or immersion.

"The first sacrament is called baptism, or, in our language, the washing by water, either from a river or fountain: and it should be administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, signifying that by the grace of God, and a participation of the benefits of his Son Jesus Christ, who has redeemed us, and by the regeneration of the Holy Ghost, who imprints a living faith in our hearts, the sins of those who are baptized will be pardoned, and they will be received in grace."

The exposition afterwards proceeds to set forth, "The mere visible and material baptism does not make a person either good or bad, but baptism is administered in the full congregation of the faithful, in order that he, who is thus received in the church, may be reputed, and held by all as a brother and a Christian, and that all may pray for his becoming a Christian in heart, as much as he is one outwardly. It is for this purpose that *infants* are presented for baptism."

In some articles of faith, subsequently drawn up by the Waldensian clergy, there are many such strong declarations as these.

"We maintain, that infants must be baptized unto salvation, and consecrated to Jesus Christ, according to Christ's command, 'Suffer little children to come unto me.'"

"We maintain, that the ministers of the church ought to be legitimately ordained, and confirmed in the congregation to that office, by the laying on of hands."

"We maintain, that the ministers of the word of God ought not to be transferred from one place to another, such a practice not being for the good of the church."

These, it will be confessed, are not the doctrines of fanatical schismatics.

The more serious topics, of the doctrine and discipline of the Vaudois church, were succeeded by little anecdotes of the history of Bobbio. Old achievements, and obstinate defences, were recounted by our kind and entertaining host; the scenes where they took place were minutely described, and the humblest martyr, who had suffered in the cause of truth, or whose fidelity had been proof against temptation, had honourable record from the pastor. Most of his tales related to those gloomy times, which, it is to be hoped and believed, will never return: and he told us of one poor rustic, who displayed as much shrewdness as courage, in baffling the missionaries, who were formerly armed with temporal as well as spiritual weapons. After many proclamations had been made, commanding the Protestants to attend mass, several recusants were summoned before the tribunal of a judge, named De St. Julien, to answer for their contumacy. Among the rest, a peasant was ordered to take his infant to a Roman Catholic priest to be re-baptized. "I will obey the order," said the man, "if the president of the court will give me a discharge, signed by his own hand, and taking upon himself and posterity the sin of this act." De St. Julien was alarmed at the proposition, and suffered the peasant to depart in peace.

The mind dwells with uncommon pleasure upon hours such as those, which we passed by the side of the minister's blazing faggot, in this Alpine hamlet. No sketch of rural contentment that ever was drawn, could have more charms for the imagination, than the true picture which we had this opportunity of contemplating. We were regaled under the hospitable roof of a man, who farmed his own few acres[h], and was satisfied with their produce, who had his little stream to fertilize his ground, and his little grove of trees to shade it, and rendered daily thanks to his Maker for shielding him from the ills of poverty. We had left behind us the proud palaces of Turin, the lofty dome of the Superga, and the luxuries of cities, and were literally enjoying the frugal repast of an humble dwelling, where cleanliness was the principal decoration[i]. What poets dream of was before our eyes; the retreats which they affect to love, where innocence dwells, and a little suffices to its contentment. The very characters, which they employ the melody of words and the harmony of verse to describe, were here acting their parts in unassuming simplicity. Grand scenery, similar to that by which we were surrounded, might be found elsewhere, but its moral ornament, a Christian minister, faithful to his duty, contented with his limited means, and cheerful in his obscure seclusion, is not to be found in many other parts of Italy.

Within gun-shot of Bobbio, and on a very picturesque hill which overhangs the Subiasco torrent, there are still seen a few cabins to remind the tourist of the hamlet of Sibaud, from whence Arnaud and his gallant band made their memorable attack upon Bobbio, after forcing the passage of the Col di Giuliano, whose peaks are also seen from this delightful vale. Henri Arnaud's is a name so dear to the Vaudois, that it would be injustice to these intrepid mountaineers, and especially to the memory of that singular man, not to give a few particulars of his extraordinary and successful enterprize.

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[h] Puræ rivus aquæ, silvaque jugerum
Paucorum, et segetis certa fides meæ.
Importuna tamen pauperies abest.
Hor. B. iii. Od. 16.

[i] Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
Cœnæ, sine aulæis et ostro,
Solicitam explicuere frontem.
Hor. B. iii. Od. 29.

After the perfidy of Victor Amadeus the Second had triumphed over his Protestant subjects, and the Vaudois were driven out of their country in the year 1686, the three valleys were re-peopled by Savoyards and Piemontese of the Roman Catholic persuasion. The forts which guarded the passes were garrisoned in part by Piemontese, and in part by French troops. The exiles themselves were dispersed among the Swiss cantons, and in the Protestant German states. Some of them had even taken refuge in Holland, and others in the duchy of Brandenburgh, where the elector had received them with marked attention. Under these circumstances nothing could be more remote from all probability, than that this scattered remnant should rally under a leader of their own, and march sword in hand for the recovery of their possessions. The success of such an enterprize must have appeared still more improbable.

Henri Arnaud thought otherwise. Patriotic, ardent, and enthusiastic, his love for his native valleys would not suffer him to be happy in a foreign land, his courage would hear of no obstacles, and his warm imagination represented the arm of God, as lifted up to succour the holy undertaking. Lux lucet in tenebris, or *the light shineth in darkness,* was the motto of his community, and the words which were ever in his mouth. He thought he saw the cloud, which was to go before him by day, and the pillar of fire, which was to give him light by night, and he was incessant in his importunities, until he had communicated his own martial spirit to a few faithful friends, and had girt on, what he called, the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, which he solemnly swore never to resign, until the cross should be torn down from the altars of the thirteen sanctuaries, which, until this fatal epoch, had never been so idolatrously decorated. In a short time his little troop was encreased to upwards of eight hundred daring adventurers, whom he had persuaded to join his standard, from different parts of Germany and Switzerland.

They were obliged to meet in secret, and their nocturnal assemblies were held in the dark retreats of a forest, which then spread over a long tract of country between Nion and Rolle, and extended down to the edge of the lake of Geneva. What was then a forest is now but a wood, and there remains scarcely enough to mark the spot, where one of the boldest exploits was planned, which ever entered into the heart of man to conceive. I have passed through the supposed scene of rendezvous ; and the celebrated forest of Soigne, through which the traveller drives from Brussels to Waterloo, has scarcely more interest than this memorable place.

On the night of Friday, the 16th of August, 1689, Arnaud had completed all his preparations; and, putting himself at the head of his men, he seized some boats on the coast, and crossed the lake. Yvoire, in Savoy, was their place of landing, and they would have had to encounter an enemy at the first village, through which they passed, if they had not wisely taken two persons of some distinction, as hostages for their safe conduct through this part of the country. The route, for the first two or three days, was by passes to which they were perfect strangers, but their hostages were answerable for the fidelity of the guides. On the second day, however, they were nearly betrayed, in spite of all their precautions. The inhabitants of Cluses, on the Arve, at first refused to give them a passage through the town, and afterwards despatched a messenger to Sallanches, with instructions for the people of that city to attack the Vaudois in the narrow defile of Maglan, while they themselves would assail them in the rear. Most providentially, the treacherous scheme was discovered in time, and no other vengeance was taken than to carry off two more hostages from Cluses. The tremendous pass of Maglan, where a few peasants, armed with stones, might stop the progress of a whole army, was cleared before the troops of Sallanches had notice of this extraordinary march; and though it rained torrents the whole day, the eight hundred reached Cablau before they halted for the night.

It took them two days only to surmount the difficulties of the Montagne de Haut Luce, and that of the Bon Homme. The latter is a chain of the Allée Blanche, and forms part of the Graian Alps. After descending from these snow-covered heights, they followed the course of the mountain torrent called Reclus, and penetrated, through a woody ravine, into the plain of Scez, where they encamped on the fourth evening. It was on this day's march that they passed by the large rock of Gypsum, which stands at the entrance of the defile that leads to Scez, and is well known as La Roche Blanche, which is supposed to be the celebrated white rock, on which Hannibal spent the night, after the furious attack which was made upon him by the barbarians [k].

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[k] "The position of the Roche Blanche was eminently calculated for the defence of their march. From hence Hannibal commanded the whole plain of Scez, and was able to act against the enemy on the heights above St. Germain, as well as upon those on the flanks of the Roman road. General Melville and M. De Luc attach great importance to the fact of the existence of a white rock on the exact spot on which, according to Polybius, it ought to be found. The expression itself occurs only twice in Polybius, and I am not aware that it is to be found in any other author. Literally translated, λευκόπετρον means a white rock, but in the 10th book, chap. 27, where the word again occurs, it must be taken in the sense of a naked rock. M. De Luc has given a very animated description of General Melville's passage over this ground, and of his discovery of the Roche Blanche, while he had his Polybius in his hand. It is quite certain that the rock in question is called universally by this name, and that there is a tradition among the in-

On the 21st of August the Protestant heroes traversed the valley of the Isere; and though they expected to find this one of the most perilous of their journeys, yet they arrived at Laval in safety. Nothing can be more fertile, or better cultivated, than this lovely valley, which presents some of the finest Alpine scenery to the eye, that is to be met with in Savoy: it was not therefore from the difficulty of the passes, or the scarcity of provisions, that Arnaud's troop apprehended interruption; but from the hostility of the inhabitants. The population is numerous on each side of the river; and it was never satisfactorily explained, why the eight hundred were permitted, not only to traverse the valley of the Isere, but also to cross Mont Iseran, and the still more formidable Mont Cenis, without any well-ordered attempt to stop their progress; for by this time the object of their march was well known at Turin. A few skirmishers were all they had to encounter; and it was not before the eighth day of their enterprize, that they first came in conflict with any large body of regular troops.

To avoid the garrison of Susa, it was determined to proceed along the banks of the Doire, or Dora, at the foot of the Col d'Albin, which closes in upon the river, and leaves a pass, which is barely practicable at places even for troops, who have no enemy

habitants, that a great battle had been fought at the foot of it. Our guide, who was a very respectable inhabitant of Sillar, talked as a matter of every day conversation of Hannibal, and of his march through the country at the time of the *Saracens*. He assured us also, that he had himself seen and handled very large bones of beasts, which had been taken out of the little stream that flows through the ravine, up which the Roman road passed. These bones he said were larger than those of oxen, and when the little stream overflowed, and washed away the soil, some of these bones were sometimes found. He himself made no mention of elephants, and seemed ignorant what the bones were: some of them, he said, had been preserved, but we were unable to discover where."—See a Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps, p. 56.

in front. The narrowest part of the defile is near Salabertrand, where a bridge is thrown over the Dora. At this point the Vaudois found their passage disputed by 2,500 French, who summoned them to surrender at discretion. The superiority of numbers against them was fearfully great, the garrison at Susa were prepared to act against them, if they retreated, and hemmed in by the rocks on one side, and the river on the other, the little band had no alternative but to advance. The charge was sounded; and, after a most singular conflict, the combatants became so intermixed, that it was hard to know friends from foes. The heat of the fight was maintained at the entrance of the bridge; and, at the most critical part of the engagement, a heavy mist added to the general confusion. Of this the Vaudois took advantage, they shouted the name of their leader, pressed forward, stood firmly by one another, reformed their ranks, and passed the river, with the loss of only fifteen killed, and twelve wounded. The French were so astonished by the rapidity of this movement, and discouraged by the prodigious slaughter made among their own men, that they did not pursue; and in three days more, after unheard-of exertions and fatigue, the Protestant exiles found themselves once again in their own valleys.

The following extract, from Arnaud's own account of this extraordinary encounter, will strongly remind the classical reader of some of the passages in *Xenophon's Retreat of the ten thousand Greeks;* and the Christian chieftain and historian will not suffer from the comparison, whether we consider his talents as a commander, or the modesty with which he touches upon his own share in the transactions of the day.

“ Having first reconnoitred, to discover if there was any ambuscade, the Vaudois advanced towards the bridge. Some of the enemy, who were entrenched on the other side, called out, *Qui vive;* to which the Vaudois replied, very sincerely, *Amis;* intending to remain so, if they had been suffered to pass without interruption. But the French did not desire to be friends upon these terms; and shouted, Kill them, kill them. A firing then commenced, which lasted a quarter of an hour, during which more than two thousand shots were discharged; but M. de la Tour (Arnaud spoke of himself under this name) having ordered his men to lie down flat upon their faces, there was but one of them wounded. A Savoyard gentleman, one of the hostages, declared that he had never seen so terrible a firing take such little effect: and, what was more remarkable, M. de la Tour, Captain Moudon, of Bobi, and two other refugees, were not only obliged to expose themselves to it, but held in check two companies, who attempted to charge the Vaudois in the rear. Our people, finding themselves thus placed between two fires, saw that no time was to be lost, and that every thing would depend upon the promptitude of the moment. At this critical juncture, a voice exclaimed, "Courage, the bridge is gained!" In an instant, the men rose up, and rushed forward, some sword in hand, and others with bayonets fixed. The bridge was carried; and with such impetuosity did the assailants advance to force the entrenchments, that they were at the very muzzles of the guns, and cut many of the enemy down, before they could fire at them. Never was so violent a shock. The sabres of the Vaudois shivered the swords of the French in pieces, *et se faisoit craindre au feu qui en sortait, lorsqu' il donnoit sur les fusils, dont les ennemis ne se servoient plus, que pour parer les coups.*

"The victory was so glorious and decisive, that Monsieur the Marquess de Larrey, who commanded, and was dangerously wounded in the arm, cried out, blaspheming in the usual French style, 'Is it possible that I have lost the battle, and my own honour!' Seeing that there was no remedy, he added, *Sauve qui* *peut*, and then fled, with several wounded officers, to Briançon; but not considering himself safe even there, he was conveyed, in a litter, to Embrun.

"The conflict lasted two hours; and the enemy were so completely routed, that many of them, finding themselves intermixed pell-mell among the Vaudois, hoped to escape, by being mistaken for them; but they were all put to the sword: the field of battle was covered with the dead: several companies were reduced to seven or eight men, without any officers. All the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the Vaudois; and when the moon rose that evening, not an enemy was to be seen."

The exiles might have re-established themselves at once among the fastnesses of the valley of San Martino, but these brave men were not satisfied with a secure retreat; they resolved to dispossess the Roman Catholics, and to restore their brethren to their lands and habitations, or to perish in the attempt. The valley of Lucerna was occupied in great force by French and Piemontese troops, a detachment of whom was ordered to seize the passes of the Col di Giuliano, and to prevent Arnaud's approach on that side of the valley. But nothing could check his impetuous attack. The heights were carried with scarcely any loss on the part of the Vaudois; and the enemy were pursued from one summit to another, till they retreated into the vale of Bobbio, and took shelter in that village. Bobbio was, at this time, in the hands of the Papists, to whom the confiscated property of the Protestants had been assigned. It was taken by storm, and pillaged by the exasperated exiles, who, upon this occasion, lost sight of the moderation by which they had hitherto been governed.

After these successes, the gallant patriots took an oath of fidelity to each other, and celebrated divine service in one of their own churches, for the first time since their banishment. The enthusiasm of the moment was irrepressible; they chaunted the 74th Psalm to the clash of arms; and Henri Arnaud mounting the pulpit with a sword in one hand, and a Bible in the other, preached from the 129th Psalm; and once more declared, in the face of Heaven, that he would never resume his pastoral office in patience and peace, until he should witness the restoration of his brethren to their ancient and rightful settlements. Arnaud and his undaunted band have been blamed for giving, what have been considered too many proofs of this warlike spirit, and for forgetting what belonged to their evangelical character; but the circumstances of the case, and the necessity of keeping their minds worked up to the highest pitch of martial enthusiasm, might well justify them.

Another memorable anecdote is preserved of the intrepid Arnaud. He was so often in front of his troop, and the first in the fight, that his comrades found themselves obliged to remonstrate with him, upon this fearless exposure of his life. "I best know," was his reply, "what the cause and occasion require of me: while I advance, follow me; and, when I fall, revenge me!"

Encouraged by their success at Bobbio, the Vaudois marched against Villaro, where there was a strong garrison, and pressed the enemy so hard, as to force them to retire within the walls of a convent; but while they were investing the convent, a strong reinforcement arrived from Pinerolo, relieved the blockade, and obliged the Protestants to abandon the valley of Lucerna, and to retire among the strong holds of the valley of San Martino. This was on the twenty-second day after their landing at Yvoire; and the detachments, both of French and Piemontese, who were sent in pursuit, carried such devastation with them, that, for a time, all supplies of provisions were cut off; and, for several days, they had nothing to subsist upon but fruit and vegetables.

The warfare now assumed a more extraordinary turn than ever. The eight hundred had to maintain their ground against divisions sent against them, by the French King on one side, and the Duke of Savoy on the other: it was no longer a detached force, but a well appointed army, with which they had now to contend. The rocky and barren district of San Martino afforded them no resources; the defiles that led into the more fertile valleys were in the hands of the enemy; famine, fire, and sword, menaced them in every direction, and yet they refused to surrender. Even the fastnesses, which, in former persecutions, protected their fathers, were untenable for any length of time, from want of provisions. Scarcely had they taken up a position, before they were obliged to abandon it, in search of supplies, and it is an extraordinary fact, that for several weeks they had neither food nor ammunition, but what they took from the enemy.

Under these circumstances, it was impossible that the little band should concentrate its force, or remain together. It was obliged to separate, and to act in detached parties. Engagements were therefore taking place, almost every day, in different quarters of the valley: the enemy never knew where they would be attacked next, and at length were so intimidated, that a whole company would fly at the sound of a single Waldensian fusil. The Vaudois have always been good marksmen, and, upon this occasion, they exercised their skill most successfully. From the summit of a mountain, from the top of a crag, or from behind a rock, or tree, a marksman would frequently take his stand, and deliberately fire several shots before he could be dislodged; or, knowing every pass and defile, a few of them would make a detour, and pour in a volley upon a bivouacing party of their adversaries, which never failed of causing dreadful slaughter and consternation.

One great thing in favour of this intrepid force was, that they had no women or children to encumber them, for these were still in Switzerland ; there was nothing to check the most perfect freedom of their movements, no strong places to attack or defend, for what were strong places to them ? They could fall upon their enemy as they pleased, and when they pleased, and if too hardly pressed, they had a secure retreat in their mountains, from which they could sally forth, at a more favourable opportunity. They were neither to be beaten by force nor baffled by cunning; the enemy would, as they thought, surround them ; every possible means of escape seemed cut off, but their intimate knowledge of the mountains, and fearless habits, would enable them to march off by paths, which were either unsuspected by the enemy, or considered as utterly impracticable.

As the winter set in, the hardships and deprivations of these poor men encreased ; without any shelter, for several nights together, worn down by constant fatigue, and half famished for want of food, it is wonderful how they supported their courage. We find them one day at Prali, on the second taking Perrero by storm, and the day afterwards surprising Pomaretto. We read of them as being at the last-mentioned place on the 26th day of the month, and on the 29th attacking and defeating 500 of the Piemontese, at Angrogna. A view of the map, with the relative distances, and the nature of the country, will shew the extraordinary exertions, which must have been made, to combine these movements with the general plan of defence and aggression ; for though they may have been made by different detachments, yet it was no easy matter to keep up communication with each other, so as to render the operations effective.

It was in the neighbourhood of Prali, Villa-secca, and Rodoretto, in the centre of the valley of San Martino, and on the rocky banks of the Germanasca torrent, that the principal actions were fought, and the history, which Arnaud himself has written, of the affair, will give a good idea of the stand which may be made in a mountainous country, against any number of regular troops, when the invaded are determined to keep their arms in their hands, and are firmly united.

There was one fortress which was deemed quite impregnable, and this the Vaudois succeeded in supplying with provisions. It was that of Balsille, or Baceglia, situated in front of one of the defiles, that conduct into the valley of San Martino, and near the source of a mountain stream, which flows into the Germanasca. Just at the point where the craggy sides of the Guignivert, the highest ridge of this chain of Alps, slope down towards the foot of the Col del Pis, (a lofty mountain, which prevents all access from the side of Pragelato,) a rampart of rock stands at the entrance of the pass, and forms of itself a barrier, which requires but little art to render it secure against any force, that can be brought against it. The highest part of this rock rises as steep as a wall, and has three stages, or terraces, surmounted by a sort of natural platform. Upon this platform stood a tower, and in the sides of the rock which rose above each terrace, caverns were hollowed out to serve for barracks. Three fountains supplied the fortress with water, and there was no approaching it with any probability of success, but from the side, where the stream, which I before mentioned, gushes from the mountain. Numberless assaults were made by the enemy upon this position, but nothing could dislodge the little garrison, to whose charge it was confided. When they were most pressed, a messenger from the fort was despatched to Prali, and a detachment from their comrades made an unexpected attack upon the French, in the rear, while they themselves sallied from their bulwarks, and caused an incredible slaughter.

Upon occasions of necessity, there was no mountain path so dangerous, as to deter these gallant men from attempting it; and, in many cases, they succeeded in transporting themselves across glaciers, and by precipices, which had never before been trodden by the foot of man. When the eight hundred were first obliged to abandon the valley of Lucerna, and to retire into that of San Martino, they had no means of securing their retreat, but by a path so exceedingly difficult, that the whole of their baggage was lost; and so perilous, that men, accustomed to climb the most frightful rocks, trembled when they returned to the spot afterwards, and saw the danger they had escaped. The march was conducted by night, and only one man could proceed along the path at a time. "He who has not seen such paths as these," says Arnaud, in his narrative of this nocturnal retreat, "cannot conceive the danger of them, and will be inclined to consider my account of the march a mere fiction. But it is strictly true; and, I must add, the place is so frightful, that even some of the Vaudois themselves were terror-struck, when they saw, by day-light, the nature of the spot which they had passed in the dark."

The most shocking tale, relating to this extraordinary war, remains to be told. The Vaudois had no means of providing for the safe hold of prisoners. No prisoners, therefore, were to be taken; no quarter was given in the fight, and no mercy shewn afterwards. It was literally a war of extermination. The Duke of Savoy, and the King of France, would make no terms with the rebels, as they termed them; and they, in their turn, had no alternative but to destroy every man, who was found in arms against them. Some circumstances, attending this dreadful system, were particularly lamentable.

The French and Piemontese troops were often thrown into confusion at the first onset, unless their numbers were very superior. They would turn their backs, throw away their arms, and fly by the first road that presented itself. In many cases, their ignorance of the country led them to take the most narrow passes; and, not unfrequently, they strayed into rugged tracks, which proved to have no outlets. The Vaudois pressed upon their rear, the wretched fugitives were crowded together, and a fearful massacre took place, to the regret of those, who, in self-defence, were compelled to such severity. The grief of Arnaud, and of his compatriots, for this cruel necessity of shedding blood, is feelingly expressed in the narrative, and oftentimes mercy was shown to their defenceless persecutors, when it was hardly consistent with a due regard to their own safety. One anecdote will explain the emergency to which these poor people were driven; and will shew that even their adversaries were willing to admit, that they were justifiable in refusing quarter.

Several of the French officers were well known to have expressed their dissatisfaction at the inglorious service, in which they were engaged, and their commiseration for the victims whom they were commanded, by their bigoted sovereign, Louis XIV., to hunt down. Among these, was the colonel of a regiment of infantry. After a very sharp action, this colonel was left upon the field of battle, dangerously wounded. He was found by the Vaudois, who knew his humane character, and endeavoured to save his life: but they had no experienced surgeon, and none of those necessaries which the wounded man required. Some sort of communication was made with the French general; and the colonel's own surgeon, and a chest, containing several articles of apparel and provision, were sent for his accommodation. He recovered, and was detained by the Vaudois, and treated with all the tenderness which their situation permitted. Some more officers fell into their hands, and they too were spared.

Unhappily, an attack was shortly afterwards made upon the

Protestants, which was partly successful, and they were obliged to retreat with great precipitation. "Should we be surrounded," said the commander of the Vaudois to his French prisoners, we shall want the men who guard you, and your lives must be sacrificed."—"I acknowledge and submit to the necessity," replied the colonel, "and I shall forgive you my death. My blood will be upon the head of none, but the authors of this horrible war." It happened as they had feared: the Vaudois were hard pressed on all sides. At first they presented the French officers to the volleys of the enemy, under the hope that their countrymen would not continue the fire at their risk: but the combat thickened, the prisoners all fell by the hands of their captors, and not till then could the exiles succeed, in cutting their way through the enemy's ranks.

Such was the nature of the conflict between the eight hundred, and the allied forces of France and Savoy. It was a murderous system of warfare, in which the regular troops suffered in proportion of twenty to one, at the least; for they never could succeed in alluring the mountaineers from their fastnesses, or in bringing them to action, except where the nature of the ground made up for the inferiority of numbers. The contest continued through the whole of the winter, and until April in the following year, 1690; and was then concluded in favour of the Vaudois, by one of those strange vicissitudes[1] in the affairs of kingdoms, which sometimes produce the most unexpected results.

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[1] Allix, in his Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the ancient Churches of Piemont, professes to despair of their restoration. He wrote in the reign of King William III. and dedicated his work to that prince. "It is very true," says he, "that the wretched remains of these ancient churches appear too contemptible to attract the eyes of the princes of the earth towards them, their present desolation seeming so universal, that the world looks upon them no otherwise than irrecoverably lost, and finally destroyed."

A rupture took place between Louis XIV. and Victor Amadeus: each was anxious to conciliate the Vaudois, and to secure the services of the gallant band, who had maintained their ground so manfully in the valley of San Martino, and great offers were made by both parties. Always loyal, the Protestants turned a deaf ear to every proposal, but that which came from their own sovereign: a treaty was effected, a general amnesty was proclaimed, the exiles and their families were invited to return home, and an order published, that their lands and houses should be immediately restored, and their churches re-opened for Protestant worship.

The quaint style in which Boyer's [m] translator relates the termination of the war, and his reflexions upon the subject, will not be considered uninteresting. "The Duke of Savoy being forced to break with France, by reason of the hardships that were imposed upon him, this rupture was the cause of the liberty and deliverance of the Vaudois: for having understood that the king of France did solicit them to embrace his part, with offers of re-establishing them in the valleys, and giving them liberty of conscience, with free and public exercise of their religion, which would have been very prejudicial to his interest; for, instead of one enemy, he would have had two upon his back, and would have been deprived of the succours that the Protestant princes promised the Vaudois, and of the considerable service that they might do him, in keeping the passes, and in hindering the communication of the troops that were in the Delphinate, with the army, commanded by Monsieur Catinat; this prince resolved to draw them to his own party. And, to this effect, he set at liberty all the Vaudois that were in prison, as well ministers as others: he sent an act of oblivion to all those that were in arms in the valleys; and gave to those, that were in foreign countries, leave to come home, with necessary passports, with orders to all to turn their arms against the French, whom they must look upon as their true persecutors, and the cause of all their miseries [n].

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[m] Boyer's and Arnaud's accounts were published soon after the events took place, and were never contradicted.

“ He made be brought before him all those that were prisoners at Turin, and told them, that he was touched with a deep sense of their miseries; and commanded them, in his presence, to be clothed, and to be furnished with all things necessary. He excused himself that he had handled them so roughly; and cast all upon the King of France, as the true author of all, that had befallen them: and because the number of the Vaudois was so much diminished, that there were scarce two thousand left, after the last persecution, the Duke of Savoy made proclamation, that all those Protestants that were fled out of France, that would come, and dwell in the valleys, and join themselves with the Vaudois, might do it, and be safe under his protection, and have necessary passports. He ordered likewise, that, at their entrance into Savoy, both the Vaudois and the French should be furnished with arms, and all things necessary for to pass into the valleys, which was punctually put into execution.

“ The return of the Vaudois into their country, their entrance into their valleys, and their subsisting there for eight months, are so many wonders and miracles. Is it not a miracle, that eight or nine hundred should undertake to cross an enemy's country, of fourteen or fifteen days' journey, where they must climb up high mountains, force divers strait passes, where an hundred might not only stop, but beat three thousand? And, that which is most astonishing is, that these passes were guarded with great numbers, and more expert soldiers than the Vaudois:

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[n] See page 57.

they notwithstanding forced all those passes with their swords in their hands, and routed them that guarded them, killing a great number in gaining them, with very little loss on their side.

"It is likewise another miracle, that they got into the valleys, the entrances being so difficult, being peopled with Roman Catholics, who might have hindered their entrance, being more in number than they, or at least they might have possessed themselves of the most advantageous posts, which were in the mountains, and defend themselves easily, till the succours from France and Savoy, which were in readiness, could come and second them, but a dreadful fright from God fell upon them, so that they had no courage nor conduct to defend themselves against the Vaudois, who, without any trouble or resistance, chased them out of the valleys?

"Is it not likewise a great miracle, that a handful of people, without any commanders experienced in warlike affairs, should subsist eight months in the valleys, and fight nine or ten battles against the army of France and Savoy, who were sometimes twenty, but oftener thirty, against one, without being able to drive them out of their fastnesses, having killed more than two thousand of their enemies? So many happy successes make it clear that the God of battles inspired them with the generous courage of returning into their own country, to kindle again the candle of his word, that the emissaries of Satan had extinguished there, that he marched before them, and fought for them, without which it had been impossible to have forced so many difficult passes, and gained such signal victories.

"The conduct of God in the re-establishment of the Vaudois is admirable, and makes it evident that his divine Providence has judgment, and ways incomprehensible, surpassing all human understanding. The King of France, in the year 1686, pushed on the Duke of Savoy to compel the Vaudois to forsake their religion, and to take the same measures he had taken against the Protestants of France: they joined their arms together to force them, and to compass their design, they violated not only the treaty made with the predecessors of the duke, but also treaties, oaths, and promises, made by their generals, took them prisoners, killed and massacred them, violated their wives and daughters, killed their little children, and made use of all sorts of cruelty against these innocent people, after they had laid down their arms: and in the year 1690 God sent a spirit of division between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, insomuch that they strove who should first gain the Vaudois to their party, and by this division the Duke of Savoy was forced to re-establish the Vaudois in their rights and privileges, and to set all at liberty that had been imprisoned, and to recal all those that were dispersed in foreign countries. And so the King of France, who had been the principal cause of their ruin, became, against his will, the cause of their re-establishment, by forcing the Duke of Savoy to join with the allies: this shews that God mocks and derides the designs and councils of princes when they are levelled against Jesus Christ and his church [o]."

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[o] See Boyer's History of the Vaudois, p. 226.

# CHAPTER IX.

*Rora—Its secluded situation—Retrospect—Gratitude of Victor Amadeus II.—Exploits of Gianavello—Treachery of the Marquess di Pianezza—Heroic defence of Rora—Massacre at Rora—Last achievements of Gianavello—Sufferings of Giovanni Pallias, Paoli Clementi, and Gianavello's sister—Affecting tale—Traits of character—Juvenile disinterestedness—Comparative mendicity in Protestant and Catholic countries—Blasphemy unknown among the Vaudois—Temperate and manly remonstrance.*

It was our intention to have crossed the Pelice from Bobbio, and to have found our way over the mountains to Rora, or Rorata, but we were assured that it was quite impracticable in consequence of the late fall of snow. The parish, or communautè of Rora, is the smallest of the Protestant parishes : its population is about seven hundred. It is also situated farther to the south than any of the rest, and may be said to stand almost entirely separated from the other villages of the Vaudois. The craggy tops of the lofty Sea Bianca seem to rise just above it, and Mount Viso itself is distinguished among the towering summits, at the basements of which the little village is built. Mount Friolant separates it from the valley of the Po, and its hamlets are picturesquely suspended over the torrent of Lucerna, which takes its rise from that mountain. Locked up, as it is, in a very narrow valley, its soil is for the most part rocky and unproductive : but in the intervals between the rocks it is fertile, and like the other districts of the Vaudois, extremely well cultivated. Prodigious chesnut-trees decorate the slopes of the mountains, and for eight or ten weeks in the summer time, the rich pasturages of the higher regions tempt the inhabitants to leave their dwellings in the vale, and to drive their cattle thither.

Unfortunately for Rora, its sequestered situation rendered it an easy prey in the days of persecution, and nearly the whole population has been more than once put to the sword, before their brethren on the north of the Pelice could send them any succours. But Rora, as well as Bobbio and Angrogna, has had its heroes, and its fastnesses have been the secure retreat not only of persecuted Protestants, but also of royal fugitives, when they could find none so loyal and faithful as their Vaudois subjects. The hiding places of Victor Amadeus are still shewn to the tourist, and the name of Durand will be as little forgotten as the gratitude of his sovereign, in return for the protection which he had afforded. "I grant you," said the Duke of Savoy, "I grant you and your family, for ever, the privilege of using your garden as a burying-ground!!!"

The exploits of Gianavello, and his comrades, during the dreadful persecution of 1655, did not fall short of those of Henri Arnaud, and his band of eight hundred, although they were not crowned with equal success in the end. After the bloody havoc that was made by the Marquess di Pianezza[p], at San Giovanni, La Torre, and Villaro, the Count Christophel resolved to display similar devotion to his prince, by doing something at Rora, which should rival those achievements; he therefore sent three hundred soldiers from Villaro, to surprize Rora, and pillage the houses. The inhabitants were too well aware of what had been going on, on the other side of the Pelice, not to be on their guard, and their forces were divided in such a manner, as to watch all the approaches from the quarters occupied by the enemy.

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[p] See Appendix, No. 4.

Christophel's detachment had crossed the river, and were espied by Gianavello, just as they were ascending the little hill of Rumer, behind which he was posted, with seven or eight capital marksmen. Long before the troops were expecting to be received by an armed force, and even before they deemed it requisite to march in any regular order, they were saluted with a rapid fire of musketry from various directions, for Gianavello had disposed of his men so judiciously, in ambuscade, that it did not seem to come from one point only, but from the right and left, as well as the front. The enemy were thrown into confusion in an instant, and fled amain to Villaro: in their way back they had to traverse a wood, which lies between the mountains and the Pelice. Gianavello and his men pursued, but in such a manner as to keep out of sight, and being concealed, as they advanced, by the trees and shrubs, poured in a murderous fire upon the fugitives.

The commander of the royal army, Di Pianezza, affected to disclaim the whole proceeding, and as Rora had hitherto made no resistance to the soldiers, who were over-running the country, he declared that the three hundred had acted without his orders, and that Rora should have no occasion to fear any thing for the future. But upon the principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics, five hundred men were despatched the next day, to accomplish what the other detachment had failed in doing. Gianavello was again fortunate in his choice of a place, where he remained in ambush with eleven musqueteers, and six slingers, and this small force was sufficient to defeat an enemy, who were already half conquered by their own terrors. The tale of the previous day had filled their minds with a dread, which made them feel more like victims hurried to slaughter, than soldiers marching to battle. The first volley put them to flight, and Rora was once more delivered.

A third enterprize, of the same sort, was projected, but upon this occasion, Gianavello, instead of waiting for the attack, put himself at the head of his little band, and fell upon the vanguard of the Catholics, at Ramasiero. The result of this bold exploit was the third retreat of the invaders to Villaro, and the capture of all their cattle and baggage.

The Marquess di Pianezza now threw off the mask, and under pretence that the people of Rora had been the aggressors, declared that he would take vengeance for the slaughter of his men, and openly made preparations for the destruction of this devoted village. A simultaneous attack was ordered to be made with all the royal forces from Cavour, Bagnol, Barges, Bubbiana, Lucerna, and Villaro. By some accident the orders were misunderstood, and one troop only, that from Bagnol, under the command of an officer named Mario, advanced to the assault. Previous to the attack these men, among whom were a great many Irish, had dispersed themselves in quest of plunder, and when they were marching to Rora, their ranks were in such disorder, and they were so encumbered by their booty, that it was no difficult matter to put them to the rout. They were pursued as far as a rock called Peyro Capello, which overhangs the torrent, and so precipitate was their flight, that instead of taking the right path, they found themselves cut off from every hope of escape, except by letting themselves down from the precipice into the water. This they endeavoured to effect by tying cords to the nearest shrubs; but the greatest part of them were either drowned in the torrent, or dashed to pieces by falling from the rock. Sixty-five men perished in the action and in the flight, and to add to the success of the Protestants, as they were returning from the pursuit of the troops from Bagnol, they fell in with another party, who were advancing from Villaro, and gained a second victory on the same day.

This, however, was the last day of triumph for the intrepid inhabitants of Rora. Pianezza put his whole army in motion soon afterwards, and while Gianavello and his brave comrades were nobly defending a pass in the mountains, against one of the enemy's detachments, the main body marched against the village, and found no difficulty in making themselves master of it. Men, women, and children, were indiscriminately put to the sword, the few who were not massacred were carried prisoners to Turin, and not a Protestant was left in Rora to tell the tale of its calamities.

The heroic Gianavello, when he found that his arm could no longer be raised in defence of his native hamlet, effected his retreat to the mountains of Angrogna, where, with a few gallant followers, he long continued to be the terror of his persecutors. Upon one occasion he fell upon a convoy, as they were entering the fort of Mirabouc, and did terrible execution; upon another, he carried off a thousand head of cattle from Crusol, and soon after destroyed the bridge of Lucerna. His vigilance was incessant, his courage undaunted, and at last he died, as a brave man should die, with the sword in his hand, and for the welfare of his country. A noble answer is recorded of this brave man, when Pianezza threatened to burn his wife and children, unless he should surrender himself, and change his religion. " There is no torment so violent, nor any death so cruel, which I would not prefer to the abjuration of my religion, and all the threats of the Marquess do but fortify my faith. He has my wife and children in his power, but he can do no more than kill their bodies. As to their souls, I commend them and my own to the protection of God, whose servant I am, and will remain to the last hour of my life."

The little community of Rora not only enjoyed the honourable distinction of producing heroes in the field, who avenged her injuries, but of exhibiting her martyrs, whose undaunted resolution, in the hour of death, extorted expressions of admiration, even from their persecutors. The Marquess di Pianezza, who signalized himself at the executions as much as at the massacres of the Vaudois, made use of all his rhetoric, upon one occasion, to persuade a poor peasant, of the name of Giovanni Pallias, to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. He ordered him to be placed upon the ladder of a gallows, and there proposed tempting rewards, or immediate death. "I am proud," said the resigned victim, "to be accounted worthy to suffer for the cross of Christ." He was urged to remember his wife and little ones. "I do remember them, and I pray God that my children may follow their father's steps, and die like myself," was his answer, which so exasperated the monks, and the noble commander, who presided at the execution, that they took upon themselves the hangman's office, and helped to turn the victim off the ladder.

Another man, called Paolo Clementi, was brought to the same place, and shewn the body of Pallias, suspended from the gallows. The sight could not move him. "They may kill my body," said he, "but they can do no harm to the soul of a true believer."

Gianavello's sister, Marguerita, the wife of Giuseppe Garniero, possessed a spirit worthy of her undaunted brother. When Rora was attacked, as she was exhorting her husband to assist in defending the place to the last, she received a shot in her bosom. “ Do not be shaken by this,” she exclaimed to her husband, “ but endure the cross with patience, and hold out to the end.” Such courage might almost ennoble guilt, but it hallows the victim of persecution.

A most affecting tale was told me of a young girl, I forget whether of this village or of another, which proves, that the fine feelings, and exemplary virtue, of the Vaudois females, are by no means on the decline. She was more beautiful than the generality of mountaineers, but equally simple and unsuspecting. Her brother had been a soldier, and served in several of the campaigns of Napoleon. After his return to the valleys of his native province, he received a visit from a comrade in arms, who was soon attracted by the charms of his lovely sister. His attentions were received with pleasure ; he secured the affections of the innocent girl, and betrayed them. The base seducer abandoned the object of his perfidy, and she never lifted up her head afterwards. How he succeeded, was never perfectly understood ; for the poor victim was scarcely known to open her lips, when she found herself deserted ; and never accused her betrayer. A deviation from the strictest laws of modesty, both in the married and unmarried women of the Protestant valleys, is an event so extremely rare, that it is scarcely credited when it does happen ; and, in this case, all were willing to exculpate her ; but she could not forgive herself. At church, she stood alone during the whole service, and never approached any of the rest of the congregation. When the sacrament was administered, she never went up to the table, till every one else had participated. It was clear, that she looked upon her offence in so heinous a light, as to feel unwilling to contaminate others by her presence. Within less than a year she died, penitent and broken-hearted ; and her last request was, that her remains might be deposited in some retired corner of the church-yard, where they might not lie contiguous to, or pollute the ashes of those, who had gone down to the grave without dishonour.

Tales such as these whiled away our time during our mountain walks, or in the long evenings, which we employed in collecting all the information we could gather from our Vaudois friends, illustrative of the character, manners, and morals, of this primitive race. They live together in such undisturbed harmony, that, during the whole time I passed in their valleys, I observed no symptoms whatever of broils or quarrels. I heard no angry disputes, and saw no rudeness among the children, or lower sorts of the population; but, on the contrary, witnessed two or three instances of forbearance, and disinterestedness, which were uncommonly gratifying. At Pomaretto there was a groupe of very poor-looking children, who were evidently astonished at the sight of strangers, but there was no rudeness mixed with their wonder, nor did they attempt to follow us. We went up to them, with the intention of dividing some money among the little party. Instead of shewing eagerness, or impatience to share the gift, they all drew back, seeming to refuse what we proffered; and when we pressed it upon them, they pointed out one or two, who, they said, were in greatest want of assistance.

At Angrogna, a small piece of silver was presented to the girl, who was instructing her younger brothers and sisters in the Catechism: it was a long time before she could be persuaded to take it, and not till her father gave her to understand, that she ought not to decline its acceptance.

We were not once importuned by beggars in the Waldensian district. Not only here, but in Switzerland and Germany, we observed, very particularly, that mendicity was scarcely seen in any of the Protestant towns and villages, while it prevailed in the Roman Catholic. The truth of this was so glaring, that, in passing from one canton, or state, to another, we used to know that we had arrived in a Roman Catholic community, from the number of beggars, by whom we were sure to be infested. In the canton of Ury, which is Catholic, we communicated our observations to our guide; he acknowledged their justice, but attributed the fact to the Protestant cantons being richer than those of the Catholic. The former, he added, were generally better situated for commerce, than the latter. Even if this be true in general, it cannot hold good in regard to the Vaudois, who inhabit the least fertile region in Piemont, and are grievously oppressed by excessive taxes, and unjust restrictions, that disqualify them for any but pastoral occupations.

In speaking of the manners and morals of the Vaudois, I must not omit to mention, that blasphemy, and profane swearing, are held in such abhorrence, as to be the subject of especial punishment: the laws amongst themselves are extremely rigid in this respect; but the execution of them is so seldom called for, that a minister, who had been twenty-five years pastor of a parish, declared, that he had never known a single example of any of his own flock having been convicted of blasphemy.

Out of a great mass of petitions and remonstrances, which the persecuted Vaudois have addressed to their sovereigns, from time to time, expostulating with them on their cruelty, and imploring their clemency, I have selected the following, to shew with what manly firmness, tempered with mildness, and Christian meekness, they used to touch upon the subject of their wrongs.

[q] A supplication of the poor Waldenses, to the most serene, and most high prince, Philibert Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piemont, our most gracious lord.

“ Festus, governor of Judea, being required by the chief priests and elders of the people, to put to death the Apostle Paul, answered no less wisely than justly, that the Romans were not wont to put any to death, before they had brought his accusers face to face, and given him time to answer for himself. We are not ignorant, most gracious prince, that many accusations are laid against us, and that many calumnies are cast upon us, to make us objects of abomination to all the Christians, and monarchs in the Christian world. But if the Roman people, though Pagans, were so equitable, as not to condemn any man before they knew and understood his reasons; and if the law condemns no man, (as it is testified by Nicodemus, John vii.) before he hath been heard, and before it is known what he hath done, the matter now in question being of so great concernment, namely, the glory of the most high God, and the salvation of so many souls, we do implore your clemency, most gracious prince, that you will be pleased to lend a willing ear to your poor subjects, in so just and righteous a cause.

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[q] Morland, p. 227.

" First, we do protest, before the almighty, and all-just God, before whose tribunal we must all one day appear, that we intend to live and die in the holy faith, piety, and religion of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that we do abhor all heresies, that have been, and are condemned, by the word of God.

" We do embrace the most holy doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, as likewise of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds: we subscribe to the four councils, and to all the ancient fathers, in all such things as are not repugnant to the analogy of faith.

" We do most willingly yield obedience to our superiors; we ever endeavour to live peaceably with our neighbours: we have wronged no man, though provoked; nor do we fear that any can, with reason, complain against us.

" Finally, we never were obstinate in our opinions; but rather tractable, and always ready to receive all holy and pious admonitions, as appears by our confessions of faith.

" And we are so far from refusing a discussion, or rather a free council, wherein all things may be established by the word of God, that we rather desire the same with all our hearts.

" We likewise beseech your highness to consider, that this religion we profess, is not ours only, nor hath it been invented by man of late years, as it is falsely reported; but it is the religion of our fathers, grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers, and other yet more ancient predecessors of ours, and of the blessed martyrs, confessors, prophets, and apostles; and if any can prove the contrary, we are ready to subscribe, and yield thereunto. The word of God shall not perish, but remain for ever; therefore, if our religion be the true word of God, as we are persuaded, and not the invention of men, no human force shall be able to extinguish the same.

" Your highness knows, that this very same religion hath, for many ages past, been most grievously persecuted in all places; but, so far from being abolished, and rooted out thereby, that it hath rather encreased daily, which is a certain argument, that this work and counsel is not the work and counsel of men, but of God, and therefore cannot be destroyed by any violence. Therefore, we beseech your most serene highness to consider, what it is to undertake any thing against God, that so you may not embue your hands in innocent blood! Jesus is our Saviour: we will religiously obey all your highness's edicts, as far as conscience will permit; but when conscience says nay, your highness knows, we must rather obey God, than man: we unfeignedly confess, that we ought to give Cæsar, that which belongs to Cæsar, provided we give also to God, what is due to him.

" There want not those, who will endeavour to incite the generous mind and courage of your highness, to persecute our religion by force of arms. But, O magnanimous prince, you may easily conjecture to what end they do it, that it is not out of zeal to God's glory, but rather to preserve their own worldly dignities, pomp, and riches; wherefore, we beseech your highness, not to regard, or countenance, their sayings.

"The Turks, Jews, Saracens, and other nations, though never so barbarous, are suffered to enjoy their own religion, and are constrained, by no man, to change their manner of living and worship: and we, who serve, and worship in faith, the true and almighty God, and one true and only sovereign, the Lord Jesus, and confessing one God, and one baptism, shall not we be suffered to enjoy the same privileges?

"We humbly implore your highness' goodness, and that for our only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, to allow unto us, your most humble subjects, the most holy Gospel of the Lord our God, in its purity; and that we may not be forced to do things against our consciences; for which we shall, with all our hearts, beseech our Almighty, and all good God, to preserve your highness in prosperity."

This pathetic and strong appeal had no effect. Four hundred men surprised the first Vaudois village of the valley of Lucerna, San Giovanni, in the night; and were followed by a regular army, who dealt most mercilessly with the unhappy Protestants.

# CHAPTER X.

*Evening at the pastor's house—M. Bert—Liturgy of the Vaudois—Interment of the dead—Roman Catholic obsequies—Funeral ceremony at Geneva—English burial service—Synod of Waldensian church—Solemnities of the holy Sacrament—Parochial schools—Names of Vaudois villages—Village pastors—Population—Traits of character—Anecdote—Jean Leger's work—Retrospect—The attestation of Petit du Bourg—Remonstrance of foreign states—Oliver Cromwell—His protection of the Vaudois—Recommends a general collection in England—Writes letters to the Protestant powers, in behalf of the Vaudois—Expostulates with the King of France—Louis the Fourteenth—Cromwell sends an envoy to Turin—Morland's bold and memorable speech to the Duke of Savoy—Shameful treaty of Pinerolo—Its baneful effects—Protest of Swiss Ambassador—Cromwell's spirited conduct—Charles the Second—His letter of intercession to the Duke of Savoy—Compact of blood—Milton's ode on this subject.*

Upon our return to La Torre, from Villaro and Bobbio, we found an invitation from one of the principal proprietors of this communautè, to join a young party at his house, which had been kindly formed, in compliment to the strangers. M. Bert had also been several times at the little inn, during our absence, to invite us to sup with him. The evening had closed in before we got back; and the good pastor, supposing we should have some difficulty in finding our way in the dark, came himself, with a lanthorn, to escort us. The distance to his house was more than half a mile from our quarters.

My companions wished to go early to the dance, and did not accompany me to M. Bert's. They lost a most interesting conversation. The pastor of La Torre, learned as he is, has not, perhaps, all the deep erudition, and lively talent, which distinguished the late moderator, Peyrani; nor were his observations so piquant; but there is a seriousness in his manner, an impressive earnestness in his tone, and such an air and aspect of Christian mildness in his general deportment, that it is impossible not to venerate him. He takes an intense interest in the concerns of his sacred profession; his whole soul is with the holy cause, which he supports by his life and conversation; and no topics of discourse appear so pleasing to him, as those which relate to the true Christian character of his people. M. Bert is engaged in a history of the Vaudois, which will be a most valuable production; and it is earnestly to be hoped, that the restrictions upon the press, and the jealousy, with which every literary work, that proceeds from a Protestant, is regarded by the Sardinian government, will not shackle his performance.

If ever sovereign had a faithful and loyal subject, the King of Sardinia has such in M. Bert. His sentiments, upon the subject of loyalty, are founded upon those principles of obedience and expediency, which his religion inculcates; and in all our conversations, not a word dropped from his lips, which could be construed in a sense injurious to the constituted authorities of his country. The same tribute may justly be paid to the Vertus, and to every other Vaudois, with whom I conversed. These amiable people may suffer wrongs, and feel them deeply; but they have too much Christian spirit, or they are too discreet, to express themselves in any manner, that the ingenuity of the most ill-natured, or suspicious, could represent to their disadvantage.

The three or four hours, which I spent with M. Bert, were passed in discussing matters connected with the church history of the Vaudois, and the pecuniary condition of the clergy. It grieved me to find that an unsuccessful appeal had been made to England on the subject of the royal pension, which was first withdrawn in the year 1797, and that the memorial, signed by himself and other pastors, had produced no favourable result. But the fears, which this excellent man mildly expressed, lest the humble church of the valleys, had been overlooked by the English hierarchy, were ungrounded, for the unwearied attempts of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to obtain the restoration of the pension, have been warmly supported from time to time by the episcopal bench. The anxiety which the Bishop of London, in particular, has displayed upon this subject, and his repeated applications to government, entitle him to the warmest gratitude of the Vaudois. His lordship is still their advocate with his Majesty's Ministers, and it is impossible, that the representations from so high a quarter can fail of ultimate success.

M. Bert expressed himself as explicitly as M. Peyrani on the advantages, which he conceived would result, if the ancient discipline of the Waldensian church could be restored, in its pure episcopal form, but he saw no chance of this, unless they could be enabled to educate their youth at home. The restoration of the college of Angrogna offers the only probable means, of promoting a return to their original uniformity of ecclesiastical practice and ritual. At present, either the Liturgy of Geneva, or Neufchatel, is read in the churches, according to the discretion of the pastor, but that of Geneva, which is a beautiful production[r], is principally followed. It is certain that the ancient Vaudois had a Liturgy of their own, and that it was in use in the sixteenth century, for in a confession of faith, dated 1535, the thirtieth article, speaking of the Lord's Supper, has this expression, " Les terms de *nôtre Liturgie,* &c." The rituals which are adopted, in conformity to their intercourse with Switzerland, have a service for the communion, and different forms for certain days and seasons. There is also a marriage service, and a baptismal service, but no burial service, unless it be one short prayer. For many years the Protestants of Piemont were not permitted to bury their own dead, or to follow as mourners, but now that this law is remitted, and that *six* of the family, or friends, are graciously allowed, by the government, to follow their friends to the grave, it is extraordinary that they should adhere to the cold and heartless customs of the Swiss, instead of making one of the most awful duties as impressive, as it is melancholy.

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[r] See Appendix, No. 6.

England seems to be the only country, where the remains of the dead are consigned to their last home with becoming decency and feeling. In Catholic countries upon the Continent, those, who loved the deceased most dearly in life, are the first to abandon his remains. They confide to strangers the entire care of the funeral, and hired followers, or confraternities, who take upon themselves this duty, are left to see it discharged. The consequence is, that nothing can be more thoroughly disgusting than a funeral ceremony. At first the body is fantastically decorated and dressed, and placed upon a gorgeous bier; in this state it is borne through the streets, with the head nodding to the motion of the bearers, in hideous inanity. A frightful looking procession of men, covered from head to foot by a dress worn only upon these occasions, accompanies the bier. Each member of the fraternity, who looks more like a demon, guarding his prey, than a human mourner over the dead, walks with a torch, or taper, in his hand, with a peaked cap upon his head, covering his whole face, and provided with two eye-holes, that he may see his way. A few priests march before, yelling out a death-chaunt with indifference that is even more offensive than its discord. The procession arrives at the place of burial; which in cities, is generally a vault within the church, while without the walls is a succession of caverns, each of which is appropriated to its particular day of the year; and in this vault or cavern the dead are deposited, not with decorum and tenderness, but in a way that shews all the previous ceremonies of decoration and attendance, to have been but mockery. The body is cast naked into the charnel-house, and tumbled among the deceased of the day with total disregard to decency. I looked into one of these horrible caverns at Naples, and saw men, women, and children, young and old, heaped together, and upon one another, in one shocking mass of corruption.

In the Protestant cantons of Switzerland the funeral obsequies are performed with becoming solemnity, but are not concluded with that affecting religious service, which is required to dismiss the mourners in comfort and resignation. I followed a corpse to its grave, at Geneva. It was that of a soldier. About one hundred of his companions in arms, fifty of the principal townsmen, and about two hundred of the working orders formed the procession. The brothers and children of the deceased, and a few others of his family, walked next to the coffin, with their heads bare. In serious and silent array the party arrived at the grave, which was about three feet deep; the coffin was lowered into it, and immediately covered with earth. No prayer commended the soul of the dead to mercy, or spoke comfort and consolation to the living. Their thoughts seemed to sink deep into the earth, with the coffin of their relation, and they stood by, weeping bitterly, while the callous sexton heaped in the soil, till the barrier was complete that divided the friends from the friend, the brothers from the brother, and the children from their parent. But the example of the English has not been lost upon the people of Lausanne, and this cold, this heartless separation of life from death, is likely to be superseded by a form more suited to human frailty, and certainly more consonant with religion.

When poor Kemble was buried, last year, at Lausanne, most of the respectable inhabitants attended his funeral; and they were so gratified and moved, by the fine burial-service of the English Liturgy, and by the touching solemnity with which it was performed, that a general desire was expressed of adopting some ritual in conformity to it. The clergy were particularly affected, and it is believed that a form will soon be composed, and authorized by the synod.

Another strong testimony to the beauty and impressiveness of this part of our Liturgy was given by a free-thinker, who took upon himself to amend our Book of Common Prayer. He proceeded through the whole with his alterations and erasements, until he came to the Burial-Service, and *this* he declared to be so noble a composition, that he would not attempt to improve it.

M. Bert expressed himself strongly in admiration of this part of our Liturgy, which, if it be adopted at Lausanne, will most probably find its way into the three valleys.

The general affairs of the Waldensian church are regulated by a synod, which cannot be held but with consent of the government, and consists of the thirteen pastors, and one elder from each parish. The moderator, who presides at the synod, and is the primate of the church, is elected by this venerable assembly, but he must be formally approved by the king, before he can enter upon his office. It is the synod also, which appoints a pastor to a vacant charge. The parish, which has lost its minister, nominates two or three candidates, and the general assembly chuses the most worthy.

It was affecting to hear the amiable pastor of La Torre explain the solemnities, which precede and accompany the administration of the Holy Sacrament. Young people consider their first celebration of this sacred rite as an epoch in their lives, and the preparations beforehand are long, and of the most serious nature. There are a great number of Protestant families at Turin, and it frequently happens, that young persons of each sex are sent from the capital to the most retired villages among the mountains, that they may have the full benefit of a parochial minister's instruction, and may have their minds effectually impressed with the awful responsibility, which they are about to take upon themselves. There is even a formulary, or catechism, in which they are expected to be perfect, before they are admitted to the Lord's table. For this purpose they attend the minister at first privately, and afterwards appear collectively, at church, a few days before the Sacrament is administered, to give an account of their studies and meditations.

There are four seasons in the year at which the Holy Supper is commemorated, and as the greater proportion of the population regularly attends upon these occasions, two successive Sundays are employed in administering the consecrated elements. On the Sunday before the administration of the quarter, particular prayers are introduced in the service, and appropriate psalms and lessons, to prepare the congregation for the duties of the following Sabbath.

Schools are no new institutions in these retreats of pure Christianity; each parish has its schoolmaster, and the objection to educating the lower orders, which is so frequently heard, viz. that those who are taught to read make bad servants, and despise the labours of husbandry, has long met with a practical answer in the Protestant valleys of Piemont. All the children, as I have observed before, are instructed in the elements of common knowledge; the whole population is pastoral; and the Vaudois servants are the best in his Sardinian majesty's dominions.

M. Bert favoured me with the following corrected statement of the thirteen churches[s], or parishes, of the Vaudois; with the Protestant and Catholic population of the several communes, in round numbers. The numeral figures, in the last column, denote the comparative condition, or resources, of the pastors; number 1 denotes the class, which is in most easy circumstances; and number 5, the poorest. Some parishes consist of several hamlets, and have two or three churches: in those, the duty of the minister is extremely laborious.

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[s] By the word *church,* the Vaudois understand a congregation in its ancient acceptation. They speak of the churches of the Vaudois, in the plural, to signify so many *cures,* for benefices they cannot be called. Communautè is the civil division, and comprises the whole population resident within certain limits, whether Catholic or Protestant.

Anciently, a church, or parish, signified the same thing, namely, a Christian minister's charge. In Eusebius, we read of the parish of Alexandria, the parish of Ephesus, &c. &c. Thus

Τῆς ἐν ᾽Αλεξανδρὲια παροικίας. Lib. ii. c. 24.
Τῆς ἐν ᾽Εφέσω παροικίας. Lib. iii. c. 4.
Τῆς Κορινθίων παροικίας. Lib. iii. c. 4.
Τῆς Αθηνάιων παροικίας. Lib. iv. c. 23.
Τῆς κατα Καρχηδόνα παροικίας. Lib. vii. c. 3.

| Names of parishes. | In what valley. | Protestants. | Catholics. | Total. | Names of pastors. | Comparative income. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| San Giovanni[†] .. | Valley of Lucerna | 1700 | 40 | 1740 | Josué Meille, moderator adjoint .... | Class 1 |
| Angrogna .... | Ditto ........ | 2000 | 150 | 2150 | Paul Goante .... | .... 2 |
| La Torre[†] .... | Ditto ........ | 1800 | 200 | 2000 | Pierre Bert, moderator | .... 1 |
| Villaro........ | Ditto ........ | 2000 | 200 | 2200 | François Gay .... | .... 2 |
| Bobbio[†] ...... | Ditto ........ | 1700 | 20 | 1720 | George Muston .. | .... 1 |
| Rora ........ | Ditto ........ | 700 | 30 | 730 | ——— Peyrot .. | .... 2 |
| Pomaretto, with Envers Pinache .. | Valley of Perosa, or Clusone | 1100 | 100 | 1200 | Rodolphe Peyrani, late moderator, since dead.. | .... 4 |
| Prali, and Rodoretto.... | Valley of San Martino | 1200 | 80 | 1280 | Jaques Peyrani .. | .... 3 |
| Maneglia, Massel, Sabya, and Chabrant .. | Ditto ........ | 1200 | 200 | 1400 | Jean Jaques Jalla | .... 2 |
| Villa-secca, Richaretto, Faetto, Bovilla, SanMartino, Traversa .. | Ditto ........ | 1200 | 450 | 1650 | Alexander Rostain, secretary to the synod | .... 5 |
| Paramolo ...... | Valley of Perosa | 1200 | 30 | 1230 | Vacant by the death of Ferdinand Peyrani ...... | |
| San Germano .. | Ditto ........ | 1000 | 150 | 1150 | Jean Monet...... | .... 3 |
| Rocca-piatta, Parostino, Inversa Porta ........ | Ditto ........ | 1800 | 60 | 1860 | David Mondon .. | .... 3 |
| | | 18,600 | 1700 | 20,310 | | |

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[†] San Giovanni, La Torre, and Bobbio, are frequently called by the French names, St. Jean, La Tour, and Bobi. Several of the other villages have also a French termination.

This table will shew how very small is the proportion of Catholics to Protestants, in the three valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino; and, though the few lord it over the many, yet, in all my conversations with the Vaudois, it was delightful to remark, how little bitterness of feeling exists, on their part, towards those who differ from them on points of faith. I never could detect a shade of intolerance in any of their observations. They never aggravated their grievances, or seemed to take any pains to exasperate our minds against those, who had been the cause of their oppression; nor could I learn that, during the short period, in which they were put upon a level with those who professed the religion of the state, they took any opportunity of acting with animosity towards such as had formerly pressed hard upon them. In no part of their history have they displayed a spirit of fanaticism; and, much as they have suffered from the bigotry of others, it does not appear, that they have ever allowed their zeal to betray them into acts of religious phrenzy. A most affecting proof of the Christian meekness and forbearance, which distinguish this inoffensive race above every other community professing the faith of Christ, that I ever heard of, came under my own immediate notice. I must not mention the name of the person to whom I allude; because the book, of which I am going to speak, is prohibited by the Sardinian government.

The second part of Jean Leger's very scarce work contains a history of the dreadful persecutions of 1655, and is embellished with plates, representing the tortures inflicted upon the Vaudois. The sight of these horrors, thus depicted, is enough to curdle the blood in the veins of any one, who is not hardened by fanaticism against humanity, and the plates are accompanied by attestations of the facts, which place the truth of them beyond all question. This book was shewn to me by one of my excellent Vaudois friends, who observed the impression it made, and then said, " That volume I never saw till I was twenty-four years of age, although it was in my father's and grandfather's possession; nor have I ever permitted either of my own children to open a page of it. It is one of our principles not to say or do any thing, which shall have the effect of exasperating the minds of our youth against their Roman Catholic brethren."

Can there be a nobler sentiment of forbearance than this, or a more practical lesson upon the Gospel doctrine of charity! " CHARITY SUFFERETH LONG AND IS KIND: IS NOT EASILY PROVOKED: THINKETH NO EVIL, BEARETH ALL THINGS, ENDURETH ALL THINGS. CHARITY NEVER FAILETH."

In the course of this narrative, I have forborne to mention many a tale of the cruelties exercised upon the Vaudois; but as it is requisite to establish the fact of their having been subject to such torture and oppression, I will now proceed to a few details, and shew how literally they have suffered the very things of which the Apostle speaks. " THEY WERE STONED, THEY WERE SAWN ASUNDER, WERE TEMPTED, WERE SLAIN WITH THE SWORD: THEY WANDERED ABOUT IN SHEEP-SKINS AND GOAT-SKINS: BEING DESTITUTE, AFFLICTED, TORMENTED, (OF WHOM THE WORLD WAS NOT WORTHY:) THEY WANDERED IN DESERTS, AND IN MOUNTAINS, AND IN DENS AND CAVES OF THE EARTH."

The following is the declaration of an eye witness, and a party concerned in the atrocities described. The original was signed by himself, and attested by two credible persons, and is still to be seen in the public library of the University of Cambridge, where it is preserved with many other valuable MSS. of the same sort. A fac simile of the hand-writing will not be unacceptable to my readers. The annexed plate gives the concluding passage and signature of Petit Bourg, and his comrades. The declaration alludes to events that took place, while the

Marquess di Pianezza commanded the army which ravaged the valleys, in 1655, and was made in consequence of a state-paper, published by the court of Savoy, under the title of a *Factum* [x], or " Narrative of the several Transactions in the Valley of Lucerna, in the year 1655," in which the Signor de Petit Bourg was called upon, in one of the articles, to contradict the reports that had gone abroad. " He who commanded the said regiment," says the Factum, " was the Signor de Petit Bourg, a professor of the pretended reformed religion, as was the Adjutant, who caused all the orders that were given to be put in execution. Now the Marquess di Pianezza gave command to him, and recommended to his especial care to see that the people of Angrogna should be treated in the mildest manner possible. This Signor de Petit Bourg hath the reputation of a person of so much honour, that there is no doubt he will speedily attest the truth hereof, and that he will never say, he received any order to the contrary." De Petit Bourg, however, made a very different attestation to what was required of him.

" I, the Signor de Petit Bourg, first captain of the regiment of Gransè, and commander of the same, having received instructions from Prince Thomas, to go and join the Marquess di Pianezza, and to act under his orders, which Marquess was then at La Torre, just as I was ready to set out, the ambassador sent for me, and desired me to speak to M. di Pianezza, and to use my efforts to accommodate the troubles which were then existing in the Protestant valleys of Piemont: in order whereunto I did then address myself to the said Marquess, and entreated him, with great earnestness, that he would permit me to undertake the said accommodation, which I supposed I should be able to effect. But he refused this my request, notwithstanding the endeavours I used to persuade him, and instead of the least mitigation of affairs, that this or any other consideration was likely to produce, I was witness to many great violences and cruelties exercised by the banditti and soldiers of Piemont, upon all of every age, sex, and condition, whom I myself saw massacred, dismembered, hung up and ravished, with many horrid circumstances of barbarity. And so far is it from truth, that this was done by virtue of orders issued by me, (as it is falsely alleged in a certain relation printed in French and Italian,) that I beheld the same with horror and regret. And whereas it is said, in the same relation, that the Marquess di Pianezza commanded me to treat them leniently, and in the best manner I could, the event clearly demonstrated that the orders he gave were quite contrary: and it is certain, that without any distinction of those who did or did not resist, they were treated with every kind of inhumanity, their houses were burnt, and their goods were plundered, and when prisoners were brought before the Marquess, I saw him give orders to grant them no quarter at all, "*Because*," said he, "*his Highness is resolved to have none of this religion in any of his dominions.*" And as for what he protests in the same declaration, namely, that there was no injury done to any, except during the fight, nor the least outrage committed upon any lunatic or idiot, I will assert, and do maintain, that it was not so, having seen, with mine own eyes, several men killed in cold blood, and even women, aged persons, and young children, miserably murdered. With regard to the manner in which they made themselves masters of Angrogna, to pillage and burn the same, they did it easily enough, for excepting six or seven who made opposition, seeing there could be no mercy shewn, the peasants thought more of flying than fighting the enemy. In short, I absolutely affirm, and protest, before God, that none of those cruelties

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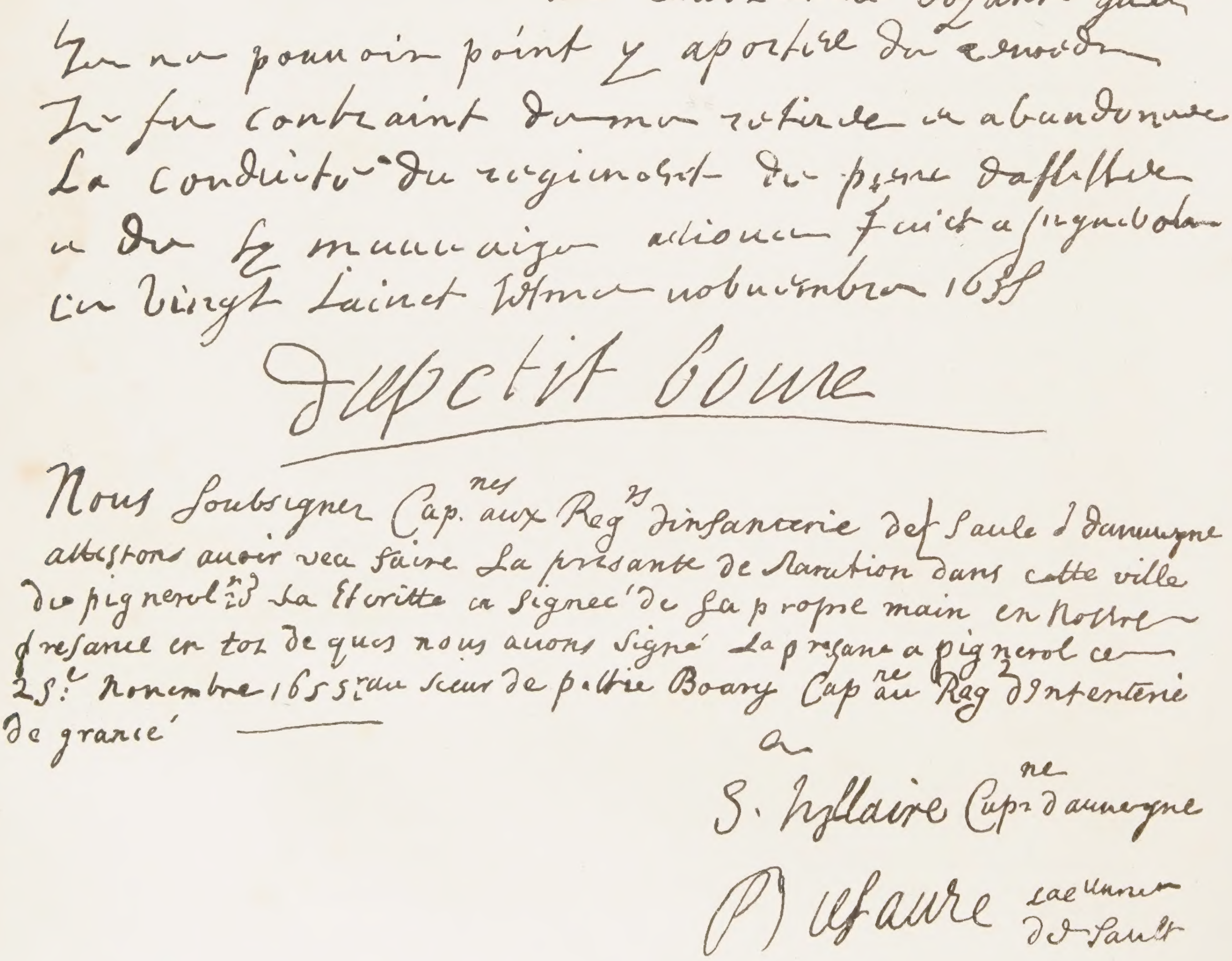
[x] See Appendix, No. 4.

*Fac-simile of the concluding sentence of the Declaration of Captain Du Petit Bosry, & of the attestation of the two witnesses to the same, taken from the Original M.S. deposited in the Library of the University of Cambridge.*



au cantrat [illegible] voyant que
Je ne pouuoir point y aporter du remede
Je fu contraint de me retirer a abandonner
La conduicte du regiment du sieur dasfelter
a de ses mauuaises actiones faict a pignerol
ce vingt [illegible] nobuembre 1655

Dupetit boure

Nous Soubsigner Cap.$^{nes}$ aux Reg$^{ts}$ dinfanterie des Saule d dauuergne
attestons auoir veu faire La presante declaration dans cette ville
de pignerol [illegible] la Escritte et Signee de sa propre main en nostre
presance en foy de quoy nous auons signé la presante a pignerol ce
25$^{e}$ Nouembre 1655 au sieur de petit Boary Cap$^{ne}$ au Reg$^{t}$ dInfanterie
de grancé

a

S. Hyllaire Cap$^{ne}$ dauuergne

P Lefaure lieutenant de Sault

above-mentioned, were executed by my order, but on the contrary, seeing that I could effect no mitigation, I was obliged to retire, and quit the command of the regiment, for fear of being present at more such iniquitous actions.

*Done at Pinerolo, the 27th Nov.* 1655.

(Signed) De Petit Bourg."

" We whose names are here subscribed, captains of the regiments of infantry, of Sault and Auvergne, do, under our hands, acknowledge to have seen the present declaration made by the Signor de Petit Bourg, captain of the regiment of infantry of Gransè, in the city of Pinerolo, and by him written and signed with his own hand, in our presence, in witness whereof we have signed this present attestation at Pinerolo, this 27th November, 1655.

S. Hilaire, Captain of Auvergne,
Du Faure, Captain."

This blood, which was shed in the inhuman massacre of this year, cried aloud to heaven for vengeance, and never was felt such a sensation among the Protestant states of Europe, as upon this occasion, nor perhaps is there any example in history, of so many foreign governments having taken up the cause of a people, making so inconsiderable an appearance upon the chart of the earth. The inhabitants of the three Protestant valleys do not occupy more than sixteen square miles of territory, and this in one of the most secluded spots of the civilized world; yet such was the justice of their cause, the barbarity of their oppressors, and the horror excited by their sufferings, that envoys[y] were despatched for the express purpose, or urgent letters of intercession and remonstrance were sent from the Protector Cromwell, the kings of France, Sweden, and Denmark, the States-General of the United Provinces, the Swiss cantons, the city of Frankfort, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Prince Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Hesse, to represent to the Duke of Savoy the strong indignation, which was felt at such iniquitous proceedings. "Persecutions and butcheries," was the language of the Landgrave of Hesse, "are not the means to suppress our religion, but rather to preserve it, and to spread it abroad." The cantons of Switzerland, from their proximity to the scene of bloodshed, were the first to hear of it, and to address Charles Emanuel upon the subject. The Duke returned a cold and formal answer, in justification; upon which the Protestant cantons commanded a day of public humiliation, recommended a general collection for the relief of the sufferers, and again exerted themselves in behalf of their afflicted brethren in Piemont, by sending M. Gabriel Weis, the Captain-General of Bern, with the commission of negotiator between the Duke of Savoy and his Protestant subjects.

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[y] See Appendix, No. 10.

In justice to the memory of Oliver Cromwell, in whom it is a satisfaction to find some redeeming virtue, no foreign power took so active and spirited a part in behalf of the Vaudois, as England at this fatal crisis: but, it should be added, that the poet Milton was the person to whom the Vaudois were principally indebted; and whose great influence with Cromwell was constantly employed, in urging him to espouse their cause. The protector, immediately that he was informed of what was going on in the valleys, ordered a narrative to be printed, and dispersed through Britain and Ireland, setting forth the distress of the Waldensian church, and recommending a general subscription[z]. He set the example of liberality, by contributing 2000*l.* himself, from the privy purse, and a sum was shortly raised, amounting to 38,241*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* His next step was to address letters of urgent recommendation to the Protestant[a] sovereigns and states, that they should come forward in support of the Protestant interest. To the King of Sweden he represented the noble conduct which his royal progenitors had pursued, when the reformed religion was menaced in Germany. In a strain of equal eloquence he explained to the King of Denmark the motives of policy, which should induce all Protestant princes to make a common cause with those, who were defending such as were persecuted for the reformed faith. "We proclaim," said he, in a tone which was likely to fix the resolution of the wavering, "that we are prepared, in conjunction with your majesty, and our other allies of the reformed religion, to use every means in our power to relieve the wants, and secure the safety and liberty of the unhappy sufferers."

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[z] See Appendix, No. 12.

In a letter to the States-General, he reminds their High Mightinesses of the effectual struggles, which they themselves had happily made, in the adverse times of the Protestant church in their own country, and declares his readiness to take any measures, in conjunction with them, for the preservation of the same faith in the valleys of Piemont. The Protector's negotiation with the King of France was still more honourable to his character, because he had the difficult undertaking of persuading one Roman Catholic prince to act against another. His first letter to his most Christian Majesty boldly touched upon a very delicate topic, and intimated that the troops of France had been concerned in the cruelties in Piemont. "It has been reported to us, (with what truth has not yet been ascertained,) that this slaughter has been committed by some of your own troops, conjointly with those of the Duke of Savoy." In his second letter, he gave the King of France to understand, that he expected him, not only to employ his mediation with the Duke of Savoy, in behalf of the Vaudois, but to afford shelter and protection to such as should fly for refuge into the French dominions.

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[a] See Appendix, No. 8.

Three years afterwards, Cromwell proceeded still greater lengths with France, and gave instructions to his ambassador, Lord Lockhart, to urge the expediency of an exchange of territory, in order that the Vaudois might be placed for ever beyond the reach of the iron grasp of the Dukes of Savoy. " One of the most effectual remedies," said these instructions, " which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present, is, that the King of France would be pleased to make an exchange with the Duke of Savoy, for those valleys, resigning over to him some other parts of his dominions in lieu thereof, as in the reign of Henry IV. the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke, for La Bresse, which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his Majesty, as well for the safety of Pinerolo, as for the opening a passage for his forces into Italy, which, if under the dominion, and in the hands of so powerful a prince, joined with the natural strength of those places, by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable."

This scheme, and the answer of the King of France, Louis XIV., will excite no small degree of astonishment, when it is remembered, that it was the same monarch, who revoked the Edict of Nantz, and urged Victor Amadeus to repeat, in 1686, the enormities against which he now affected to protest, in 1655. " I am very glad, Monsieur le Protecteur," wrote Louis XIV. " that you are touched with the calamities of these poor people, and I have anticipated your wishes by continuing my intercessions with the Duke of Savoy, for their comfort and relief, and for their establishment in the respective places of his dominions, which they enjoyed, by concession, from the Dukes, his predecessors. As to what remains, you have judged well, in not believing that I had given any orders to my troops to do such execution among them: in truth, there could be no suspicion that I should contribute to the chastisement of any of the Duke of Savoy's subjects, of the pretended reformed religion, at the same time that I was giving so many marks of my good will to those of my own subjects of the same profession, *having had cause to applaud their fidelity and zeal for my service, since they have not omitted any opportunity of giving me proof thereof, even beyond all that can be imagined, and have contributed in all things to the welfare and advantage of my affairs.*"

When the Protector Cromwell had taken these preliminary measures, he sent Sir Samuel Morland upon a special mission to the court of Turin, to present letters of strong remonstrance to the Duke of Savoy himself, and to demand an audience, for the purpose of making a public declaration of the indignation, which the proceedings against the Vaudois had excited in England. Cromwell could not have chosen a man better qualified to discharge the duties of such an embassy than Morland. Young, ardent, full of courage, and conscious of the dignity of the character which he had to sustain, as the representative of the commonwealth of England, he procured an audience at Rivoli, where the royal family of Savoy were then residing, and in the presence of Madame Royale, and the whole court, he addressed the Duke in a Latin oration, which, after a few customary expressions of courtesy, contained truths that none but a stern republican could think of sounding in royal ears. It was the pride, and perhaps the policy of Cromwell, to transact all his negotiations with foreign powers in the language of ancient Rome. He would not condescend to hold intercourse in any but his own, or a learned tongue, and he considered that by this means neither himself, nor his ministers, could be made the dupes of equivocal and ambiguous phrases. Milton was the secretary, whom he employed to put his own expressions into a correct and classical form, and his Latin[b] letters form some of the most curious scraps of history.

I give the whole of Morland's speech to the Duke of Savoy, in the quaint words of his own translation; and it will serve as an attestation of many of the facts, to which allusion has been made in the course of this work.

"May it please your most serene and royal highness,

"I am sent by the most serene prince Oliver, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, unto your royal highness, whom he heartily saluteth, and with a very high and singular affection of mind towards the person of your serene highness, wishing you life, a long reign, and prosperous successes in all your affairs, together with the love and affections of your people. And this respect doubtless is due to your merit, whether a man consider the most noble inclination, and royal extraction of your highness, together with the high expectation, which the world hath from so many eminent virtues, or whether from perusing the monuments of time past, he call to mind the ancient alliance of our kings with the royal family of Savoy. As for myself, though I be a young man, I confess, and have not much experience in affairs, yet it pleased my most serene and most gracious master, to send me, being one that is very much devoted to your royal highness, and a great lover of all the people of Italy, to negotiate matters of great importance, for so those affairs are to be called, wherein the safety of many poor distressed people, and all their hope is comprehended, which indeed consisteth wholly in this, if so be that by all their loyalty, obedience, and most humble petitions, they may be able to mollify and appease the mind of your royal highness, which hath been provoked against them.

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[b] See Appendix, No. 8 and 9.

"In behalf of these poor people, whose cause truly, even commiseration itself may seem to make the more excusable, the most serene protector of England is also become an intercessor; and he most earnestly entreateth and beseecheth your royal highness, that you would be pleased to extend your mercy to these your very poor subjects, and most disconsolate outcasts: I mean those, who, inhabiting beneath the Alps, and certain valleys under your dominion, are professors of the Protestant religion. For he hath been informed, (which no man can say was done by the will of your royal highness,) that part of these most miserable people have been cruelly massacred by your forces, part driven out by violence, and forced to leave their native habitations; and so, without house or shelter, poor and destitute of all relief, do wander up and down, with their wives and children, in craggy and uninhabitable places, and mountains covered with snow. Oh! the fired houses, which are yet smoking, the torn limbs, and ground defiled with blood [c]!

* * * * * * * * * *

"Some men, an hundred years old, decrepit with age and bedrid, have been burnt in their beds. Some infants have been dashed against the rocks, others have had their throats cut, whose brains have, with more than Cyclopean cruelty, been boiled, and eaten by the murderers! What need I mention more, although I could reckon up very many cruelties of the same kind, if I were not astonished at the very thought of them. If all the tyrants of all times and ages were alive again, (which I would speak without any offence to your highness, seeing we believe none of these things were done through any default of yours,) certainly they would be ashamed when they should find, that they had contrived nothing in comparison with these things, that might be reputed barbarous and inhuman.

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[c] Fumantia passim tecta, et laceri artus, et cruenta humus. Virgines post stupra differto lapillis ac ruderibus utero, miserè efflarunt animas.

"In the mean time, the angels are surprised with horror; men are amazed; heaven itself seems to be astonished with the cries of dying men; and the very earth to blush, being discoloured with the gore blood of so many innocent persons! Do not thou, oh thou most high God, do not thou take that revenge, which is due to so great wickednesses, and horrible villanies! Let thy blood, oh Christ, wash away this blood!

"But it is not my business to make a narrative of these things, in order as they were done, or to insist any longer upon them; and that which my most serene master desireth of your royal highness, you will better understand by his own letters, which letters I am commanded, with all observance and due respect, to deliver unto your royal highness; to which, if your royal highness shall, as we very much hope, be pleased to vouchsafe a speedy answer, you will thereby very highly oblige my lord protector, who hath laid this thing deeply to heart, and the whole commonwealth of England. You will also, by an act of compassion, most worthy of your royal highness, restore life, safety, and spirit, country and estates, to many thousands of afflicted people, who depend upon your pleasure; and me you will dismiss back to my native country with exceeding joy, and with a report of your eminent virtues, the most happy proclaimer of your princely clemency, and one for ever most obliged to your royal highness."

The result of these negotiations was, that the Duke of Savoy returned an answer to Cromwell, promising to proclaim a general act of indemnity, to restore the Vaudois to their possessions, and to concede the same privileges and immunities, which his ancestors had granted ; and he concluded, by referring all differences to the mediation of the King of France. England, and the rest of the Protestant powers, were completely thrown off their guard by these promises : the courts of France and Savoy took advantage of the satisfaction which was expressed at the matter having been left to be so arranged ; and huddled up a treaty, called the treaty of Pinerolo, which left the poor Vaudois at the mercy of their oppressors, under the mask of establishing their security. This shameful treaty, by which the Protestant states were duped, and the Waldensian churches left in the same unprotected condition as ever, was very appositely compared to a leper, arrayed in rich clothing and gay attire; and to Ezekiel's roll, " written within and without, in the mouth as honey for sweetness, but within there were written lamentations, and mourning, and woe !"

The baneful effects of this conclusion of the affair were soon felt by the poor Vaudois themselves, who, in their pathetic appeal for redress, used some of the most affecting expressions in Scripture, to signify their distress. We have *no grapes in the vineyard,* said they ; *no cattle in the fields ; no herds in the stalls ; no corn in the garners ; no meal in the barrel ;* and *no oil in the cruse. The tongue of the suckling cleaves to the roof of his mouth, and the young children ask bread, and no man gives it to them.*"

To the French king, whom they justly considered the author of their grievances, since it was he who had patched up the perfidious treaty of Pinerolo, they addressed an humble petition, imploring his interposition, and urging him to see justice done to them. But their only answers were some angry letters, written by the French Ambassador (Servient), who had himself assisted in framing the treaty ; and who sharply rebuked them, for their presumption and discontent. One of these letters even reproached them for accepting supplies and monies from foreigners. These monies were the contributions received from England. "Alas!" said the poor sufferers, "was it ever known before that miserable men, after losing the whole of their estates, after having had their houses burnt, and their goods plundered, should have it objected to them, that they had received the charity of those, who had pity on them, to prevent their perishing of hunger!"

One of the Swiss Ambassadors was so dissatisfied with the terms of the treaty, in the first instance, even before it was concluded, that he strongly remonstrated with his colleagues, and urged them not to consent to it: and afterwards subscribed to a protest, the original attestation of which is among the manuscripts in the university library at Cambridge. A fac-simile is given in the annexed plate, and the following is a translation of it.

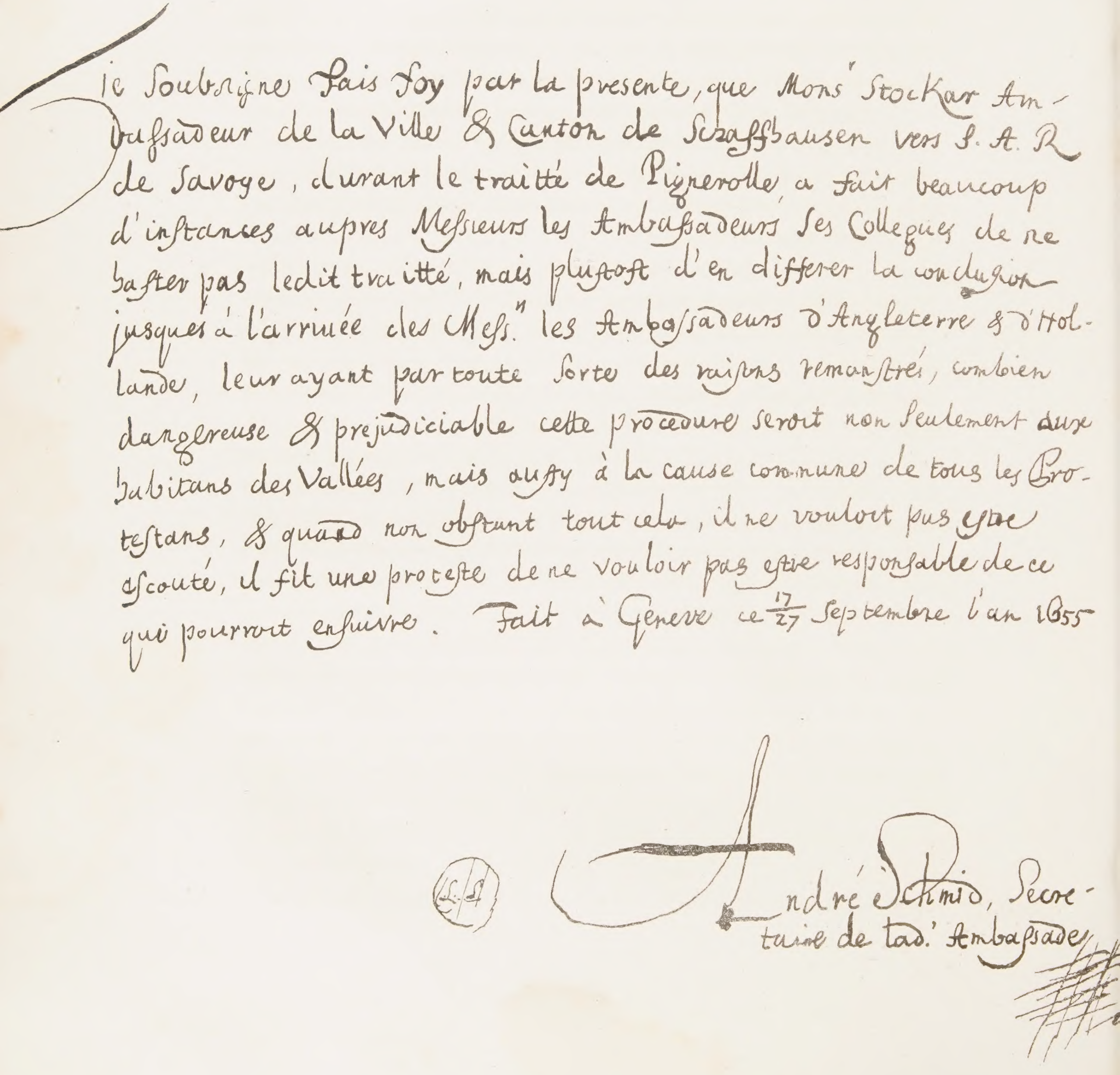
"I, who have subscribed my name, do declare by this attestation, that M. Stockar, Ambassador from the city and canton of Schaffhausen to his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, during the Treaty of Pinerolo, did earnestly request Messieurs, the Ambassadors his colleagues, not to hasten the said treaty, but rather to defer the conclusion of it, until the arrival of the Ambassadors from England and Holland; and that he urged every remonstrance, and shewed how dangerous and prejudicial this proceeding would be, not only to the inhabitants of the valleys, but also to the common cause of all the Protestants. And when he found that his expostulations were of no avail, and that he was not listened to, he protested that he would not be responsible for the consequences.

(Signed)
"ANDREW SCHMIDT,
"Secretary to the Embassy."

"*Done at Geneva*, 17-27*th Sept*. 1655."

Cromwell was furious upon finding how completely the Pro-

Fac-simile of the Attestation of M. Schmid, taken from the Original M.S., deposited in the Library of the University of Cambridge.



Je Soubsigné fais foy par la presente, que Mons$^{r}$ Stockar Ambaſsadeur de la Ville & Canton de Schaffhausen vers S. A. R de Savoye, durant le traitté de Pignerolle, a fait beaucoup d'inſtances aupres Meſsieurs les Ambaſsadeurs ses Collegues de ne haſter pas ledit traitté, mais pluſtoſt d'en differer la concluſion jusques à l'arrivée des Meſs.$^{rs}$ les Ambaſsadeurs d'Angleterre & d'Hollande, leur ayant par toute sorte des raiſons remonſtrés, combien dangereuse & prejudiciable cette procedure seroit non seulement aux habitans des Vallées, mais auſsy à la cause commune de tous les Protestans, & quand non obſtant tout cela, il ne vouloit pas eſtre eſcouté, il fit une proteſte de ne vouloir pas eſtre reſponſable de ce qui pourroit enſuivre. Fait à Geneve ce $\frac{17}{27}$ Septembre l'an 1655

André Schmid, Secretaire de lad.$^{t}$ Ambaſsade

testant states had been over-reached, in their negotiation with the Duke of Savoy, and in the faith they placed in the mediation of the King of France. He wrote[c] to Louis XIV. in a high tone of indignant remonstrance, and despatched a letter to the Swiss cantons, plainly signifying his own readiness to go all lengths, in conjunction with them, for the benefit of the Vaudois; and warning them, that they were bound, by every consideration, of interest, as well as feeling, to see that the most ancient stock of the reformed religion was not destroyed, in the remains of its old faithful professors, lest the next blow should fall upon themselves.

Unfortunately for the Vaudois, Oliver Cromwell did not live to render them farther assistance; he died in the same year that these last letters were written; and, in him, they lost their most zealous and powerful protector. Charles the Second suspended the annual pension, arising from that part of the collection made in England, in 1655, which Cromwell had put out to interest, and did not protest against the continued persecutions of their sovereign, with that earnestness and spirit, which might have enforced attention. But even this prince, attached, as he was, to the Roman Catholic faith, could not entirely forget what was due from the king of a Protestant nation, to the Waldensian sufferers; and the copy of a letter is preserved, which he addressed to the Swiss cantons, in answer to their request, that he would use his intercession in favour of their brethren in the valleys. This letter is a curious specimen of the effect, which a just and righteous cause, supported by public opinion, could have, even upon the thoughtless and unsteady mind of Charles the Second.

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[c] See Appendix, No. 9.

"Mighty, respected, and noble sirs, our right good friends,

"It is with great pleasure that we have received your letters of the 11th of June past; and as we have nothing more deeply at heart, or more agreeable to our minds, than to re-establish, and renew the ancient affection, which the reformed churches entertained for ourselves and our ancestors, and to deserve a continuance of it, we will do all in our power, and upon every occasion, as you have recommended us, to soften the calamities, and prevent, by our intercession with the Duke of Savoy, the dangers which threaten them. For this reason, as soon as we shall send our minister to that court, we will not fail to make use of our entreaties and interest with the duke, our cousin, in their favour and for their relief, to the end, that in future, he may treat them with the mildness they hope for; and that they may exercise their religion with security and confidence. In the mean time, if any opportunity shall offer to promote their views, we shall, from our heart, do all we can towards the preservation and safety of those, who are so closely united to us by the sacred ties of a common faith.

"Given at our court, at Hampton, the 14th of July, 1662, and in the fourteenth year of our reign.

(Signed)

"Your good Friend,

"CAROLUS REX[e]."

In 1664 and 1665, the council of extirpation, at Turin, were proceeding so openly in their designs, for the total destruction of the Protestant families in the three valleys, that memorials were again and again presented to the French king, by the different Protestant ambassadors at that monarch's court, and the name of the English minister, *Hollis*, appears at the foot of several documents of this nature. But they were not worded in the strong and indignant language which distinguished the remonstrances of Cromwell, and they were treated with the contempt which feeble manifestoes deserve to receive. France and Savoy had a perfect understanding upon the subject, and the fiat went forth for blotting the name of the Vaudois from the face of the valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, as it had already been effaced from that of Pragela and Frassinière, and from the Marquisate of Saluzzo. Most providentially the compact of blood was dissolved in the year 1690, and the Vaudois are still bearing witness to the truth, in the settlements of its first professors.

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[e] Translated from the copy preserved in Leger's work.

It was during the dreadful persecution, of which I have been speaking, that Milton wrote the following sonnet.

> "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold:
> E'en them, who kept thy truth so pure of old,
> When all our Fathers worship'd stocks and stones,
> Forget not; in thy book record their groans,
> Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
> Slain by the bloody Piemontese, that roll'd
> Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
> The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
> To Heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
> O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
> The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
> An hundred fold, who, having learnt thy way,
> Early may fly the Babylonian woe!"
>
> SONNET 18.

## CHAPTER XI.

*A festive party—Alpine dance—Rustic beauty—Return to Turin—Delightful recollections of the Vaudois—General observations—Loyalty of the Protestants of Piemont—Gratitude of the Sardinian government—Ancient Waldensian church—Gradual advance of Romish corruptions—Christianity as it was in the primitive church—Progressive departure from it—Transubstantiation—Multiplication of church offices—Celibacy—Confession and absolution—Supremacy and temporal power of the Pope.*

The time passed so imperceptibly with the good pastor of La Torre, that it was late before we remembered, that we were engaged to look in upon the little festive party, which was collected at the house of one of the family of the Vertus. M. Bert's son and daughter, and one of his English pupils, had set out long before us, and I began to fear, lest I should have the appearance of forgetting the early habits of these simple mountaineers. My venerable friend quieted my scruples, by assuring me, that upon occasions like the present, amusements were extended till long past midnight. We found the house to which we were invited, as full as it would hold. All the principal families of La Torre were assembled together, young and old, and the largest room was set apart for the use of the dancers. One or two adjoining apartments were employed as rooms, to which the company might adjourn for refreshments, or conversation. In the most complete sense of the word, it was a rustic assembly, where all was good-humour, cheerfulness, and frankness. The music consisted of a flute, and a couple of violins: the dances were those of the country; the refreshments were a thin wine, and cakes; and the dress was principally the costume of the Alps. One or two young girls, and among them the charming girl to whom the younger M. Vertu was engaged, were dressed in white; but colours, and chiefly red, were conspicuous. The young men were attired without any regard to the fashions of Turin; and the movements of their steps were regulated by nature, and a good ear; and not by the studied lessons of a ballet-master. The elder personages looked on with unfeigned satisfaction; and the youthful actors in this happy scene, performed their parts with all that gaiety of heart, and simplicity of manners, which distinguish the inhabitants of remote villages. It was, indeed, a genuine, unmingled delight, to witness the innocent happiness of the hour: for if the sight of pain, be itself pain; the sight of pleasure is no less pleasure, where the heart is pure, and the mind is uncorrupted.

I was interested in observing how much M. Bert entered into the spirit of the amusements of the evening. Austerity forms no part of the religious character of the Vaudois; and this worthy minister thought it not at all inconsistent with his sacred profession, to be present at an assemblage of his flock, where music and dancing were admitted. "I love," said he, "to see cheerfulness and happiness under every form; and where can be the harm of young persons thus recreating themselves under their parent's eyes, where nothing indecorous is done; or of my being the spectator of their innocent revels." Formerly, dancing was prohibited among the Vaudois; but it was in those dark and dismal times, when these poor people were scarcely ever secure of their lives, and when any indication of merriment agreed but ill with their miserable condition. In days of active persecution, piety will naturally assume something of the gloomy tincture of the period; and when the heart ought to be sad, every movement of levity is ill-timed, and unbecoming. Upon this occasion, every body had a smile, or a salutation, or an expression of affection for their benevolent pastor, and seemed to derive additional pleasure from his presence. The domestics of the family, and several of the peasantry, were in the room where the dancing was going on, or at the door; and though they did not dance, they entered into familiar conversation with all. One of these, a female servant of the house, had a countenance of rather striking beauty: the brilliancy of her eyes was Italian, but there was a modesty, and sweetness of expression, peculiar to the Vaudois. In general, and it may be mentioned as a remark extending to all mountaineers, personal beauty is not a distinction to which the peasantry of the Alps can lay any claim; nor have I observed in any country, but in England, that lovely features, or fine symmetry, prevail among the lower orders. In Italy, it has been said, that beauty rises with rank. The Swiss peasants cannot be thought handsome; and the dress of the female peasant, in many of the French provinces, is enough to disguise and deform the most perfect figures.

At about half past twelve at night, I returned to my inn: M. Bert accompanied me to the door, and there took his leave. It was done so feelingly, that it will be long before I shall forget the fervent benediction of my pious friend, the pastor of La Torre. He raised his hat gently from his head, pressed my hand in his, and, with uplifted eyes, and a solemn tone of voice, prayed God to bless me, and to grant me a safe return to my happy and favoured country.

The next day we returned to Turin; and with the same young friends, who accompanied me to these romantic and interesting valleys, I afterwards made the tour of Italy and Switzerland.

We visited all that was most worth seeing in both these enchanting countries ; but neither the classic scenes of the one, nor the lovely vales of the other, had charms for our minds superior to those, which I have attempted to describe in this volume. Often did the companions of my journey thank me for bringing them to these picturesque retreats, which are too commonly overlooked by tourists : and after having found our way to spots, which are consecrated to every delightful recollection of poetry and history, one[d] of them, who never left me, assured me, that no remembrance he could carry home with him, would be more grateful, than that of the days he had spent in the mountains of the Vaudois.

Much as I was prejudiced in favour of this extraordinary race, before I became personally acquainted with their character, that acquaintance has encreased my admiration of them. If innocence, and pure religion, can be said to reign any where, it is here; and all my enquiries and researches have had the effect of bringing the firm conviction to my mind, that they are one of those favoured people, whom the arm of the Almighty has providentially shielded, for purposes best known to his inscrutable wisdom. Their morals correspond with their faith; and their lives and conversation testify, that the doctrines they profess, are those of the truth; for nothing short of a firm persuasion, that they are burning and shining lights, which are not to be put out, could have given them courage and perseverance, sufficient to withstand the temptations, to which their spiritual integrity has been exposed, or to resist the strong hand which has been lifted up against them for more than ten centuries. I had opportunities of observing the conduct of individuals of this little community, at different times, and under various circumstances, at home and abroad, in the transactions of business, and the kindly courtesies of life, and in their hours of devotion and festivity, and I am impressed with the belief that there is nothing exaggerated, either in the favourable representations made by their own historians, or in the eulogies of strangers.

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[d] Mr. John Hallifax.

There must be something uncommonly striking in the merits of a people, who, from age to age, have excited so much interest as the Vaudois. Almost all Europe has testified its concern for them, at one period or another, and though but a speck on the face of the earth, and of no political consequence whatever, the three valleys have been more the object of general attention than many a kingdom, which, from size and situation, might seem to challenge a far deeper interest. Since their restoration to their native settlements, at the latter end of the seventeenth century, they have enjoyed a comparative calm, which has brought them less into notice than before, but they still have to struggle with difficulties, which should induce every good Protestant to keep a jealous eye upon their Roman Catholic masters. As long as Victor Amadeus found them useful in his wars with France, the Vaudois were caressed, and flattered with promises, but in 1730, when every thing was tranquil upon the frontiers, the Sardinian government began to think it had been too indulgent to them. Edicts of restriction followed, in contempt of former engagements, and in 1768 their lamentable situation called once more for the succour of their friends in England. The French revolution again rendered their services valuable to their sovereign, and none were so faithful, or loyal, as the Protestant inhabitants of Lucerna and San Martino. Public orders were full of praises of their valour and fidelity, and royal acknowledgements were naturally expected to be followed by generous concessions. The lawful dynasty was suspended by a new order of things, in 1800, which none were so earnest in their endeavours to prevent as the Vaudois: but the intrusive government, instead of resenting the zeal which had been displayed against foreign invasion, placed this long neglected race upon a footing with its other subjects. Religious disqualifications were taken off, and Protestants and Catholics were rendered equal in the balance of the state.

But, again, the scene changes. By a sudden revolution, the house of Savoy finds itself elevated to that state amongst nations, to which its own unassisted feebleness, could never have attained; the principal agent in the work of its restoration, is a Protestant power, and yet its first use of revived authority, is to deprive its Protestant subjects of privileges, which they had enjoyed for fourteen years, and to throw the Vaudois once more upon the protection and pity of foreigners. The spirit of the age is too repugnant to any thing like persecution to render it probable, that former modes of enforcing conformity to the Roman Catholic faith will ever be resorted to again; but oppression, mortifying distinctions, petty grievances, and vexatious suits, may do more than open violence; and the Vaudois have now as many claims upon us as at any period of their history, since the sword was raised against them, in 1686. The most ready, and the most useful assistance, may be rendered from England; but should they not receive it from the quarter, to which they naturally look for aid, they may, as at former periods, be thrown upon other states; should this be the case, the purity of their faith may not long continue: abuses may gradually creep in, overthrowing parts, and assimilating themselves with the main body of their ecclesiastical institutions, till the original fabric shall have completely lost its form. What the Vaudois are to gain by such a change, is not very evident, but what they will lose, is sufficiently clear to any one, who compares their moral conduct, and steady religious opinions, with those of the neighbouring people.

For many reasons, it is to be regretted, that causes[e], over which the Vaudois could have no controul, and among the rest, the plague of 1630, which cut off all their ministers, but two of the most aged; the destruction of their college at Angrogna, and the edict, prohibiting the education of their youth at San Giovanni, should have obliged them to have recourse to the Calvinistic clergy of Geneva and Lausanne. Still, the peculiar doctrinal sentiments maintained by Calvin never found any warm advocates in these valleys; on the contrary, I am persuaded, that the Swiss reformer's notions concerning the absolute decrees of God, do not make part of the theology of the Vaudois pastors, but the long established regulations of the Vaudois church were infringed by the new ministers from Switzerland. It is in vain, that we now look for the correct lines and lineaments of the ancient discipline and ritual, which prevailed at the foot of the Alps for so many centuries. The title of moderator was most probably substituted for that of bishop, after the year 1630, and with it the Presbyterian for the Episcopal hierarchy; and new liturgies were introduced in place of the venerable service, to which neither history nor tradition could assign any positive date. According to the direct authority of Leger, the annual visitation of the head of the Waldensian church, which used to contribute so much to the religious purity of this little community, was interrupted, because the new pastors from Geneva were unwilling to submit to his wholesome jurisdiction. If there ever could have been any hope of tracing the forms and discipline of the primitive church, it might have been entertained, as long as the churches of the valleys preserved their ancient discipline and liturgy, inasmuch as the corrupt changes which took place in other parts during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, were not likely to reach such remote settlements as these; and indeed tradition, and the authority of credible ecclesiastical writers, assure us, that they did not extend to these secluded spots. But the Swiss innovators did what the corruptions of Rome could not do ; and we may not flatter ourselves, that the venerable and perfect monument, which we know was in existence till about two hundred years ago, remains any longer. In points of faith, the integrity of the Vaudois church is as unsullied as ever, but its visible form is no longer that interesting spectacle, that uninjured model of antiquity, which would have been exhibited to the Christian world, if circumstances had not occurred, in which the will of the natives of the three valleys had no concern.

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[e] See p. 77.

I do not know of any authors, whose writings will assist us in speaking positively of the state of Christianity in these Alpine recesses, for the first four or five centuries, but there is unquestionable evidence, that the whole of the diocese of the north of Italy[f], preserved purity enough, to constitute a true Christian church, though not altogether free from errors and superstitions ; and such claims, therefore, cannot be denied to the Vaudois, who formed a portion of that diocese. Even as late as the tenth century, the see of Turin partook, in part only, of the blindness common to other sees, and therefore we may fairly presume, that a pastoral and simple people, whose situation kept them at a distance from the controversies which engender error, and the customs which foster superstition, might remain but little infected by either of these evils. Leger begins his History of the Churches of the Vaudois by a declaration, that they never required any reformation.

Christianity was likely to preserve its primitive purity, as long as it was confined to the retreats of men of plain and simple habits, but when it spread into populous cities, and became the ligion of Imperial Rome, it naturally imbibed many of the errors of the people, at the same time that it improved them. Sophistry clogged it with disputable articles, whilst wealth and power thought they could not do less, than load it with some of their own decorations. With splendid services were introduced unnecessary forms, external rites were gradually substituted for spiritual observances; relics, altars, and pilgrimages, diverted the mind from the Creator to the creature, till in time the essence of Christianity grew to be disregarded in the multiplicity of its ceremonies, except in those retired abodes, where the want of costliness and magnificence rendered such forms unimposing, and therefore unacceptable.

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[f] See Allix on the Ancient Churches of Piemont.

It is curious to trace the gradual march of innovation, the introduction of superstition, and the progressive departure of the Christian church from the simplicity of the apostolic age. There is difficulty in ascertaining, whether the universal church preserved a uniformity of prayers, thoughout the whole of the divine service; but that the whole body of Christians, in the very earliest times, concurred in the use of an established ritual in the celebration of the *Eucharist,* is clearly shewn, by evidence that fortunately remains to us. Saint Augustin explains himself fully and satisfactorily upon this topic. He says the same form was universally observed, and argues that the uniformity of the practice proves its antiquity, " for what has always been practised, but cannot be traced to a general council, must be imputed to the apostles themselves." The same author informs us, " that part of the communion-service was performed before the consecration of the elements, and another part during the consecration and distribution, and that the solemnity was concluded with the Lord's Prayer, a hymn, and the benediction." (Epist. 59.)

It is not a little gratifying to know that, with a very few alterations, the substance of the same form, which the Church of

England now uses, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is to be found in almost all the ancient and modern liturgies.

The first innovation in the communion-service, that can be discovered, consisted of mixing water with the wine, which Justin Martyr, who was beheaded, A.D. 163., says was done, because Christ diluted his wine with water, in testimony of his sobriety. So early did absurd traditions creep into the church! But both Justin and Cyprian leave it on record, that the cup was not refused to the laity in their time, (Apol. 2. and De Lapsis, § 20.) nor was this abuse finally authorized by a council, until the sitting of that of Constance, in 1415.

The ecclesiastical writers of the first six centuries cannot be fairly quoted in favour of the strange doctrine of transubstantiation, nor is any credit to be assigned to the well known story which is told of Gregory the Great. It is said, in one of the ridiculous legends of the Papists, that a Roman lady smiled, when that bishop offered her the bread in the holy communion, upon which he took it back, placed it under a napkin, and, after the service, demanded the reason of her profane mirth. "Because," said she, "you call that piece of bread the real body of Christ." St. Gregory, as the tale goes, turned to the altar, touched the bread, and then shewed the lady the top of his finger, stained with blood. But so far from Gregory recognizing the superstition of the real presence, it cannot be said to have made an established article of faith in the Roman Church, until it was pronounced as such by the Lateran Council of 1215.

The Christians of the first and second century were contented, in imitation of the apostles, with the ceremony of baptism in its simplest form, but in the beginning of the third, the chrism, or holy unction, was introduced, with the custom of giving those, who were to be baptized, salt and honey to taste, and milk to drink; signs and emblems harmless enough of themselves, but indicative of the growing fondness for superfluous ceremonies. With an increase of ceremonies came an increase of church officers, and the administration of services, which was, for a time, confined to bishops, priests, and deacons, was divided among sub-deans, readers, choristers, exorcists, and a crowd of other attendants. This multiplication of offices had the effect of exciting emulation and jealousy, and the higher orders of clergy had recourse to austerities and mortifications, to support their claims to superior sanctity. Hence proceeded vows of abstinence, penances, long fasts, and inflictions of bodily pain.

Tertullian, who flourished at the end of the second century, seems to have been one of the first who pushed the doctrine of self-denial to extravagant excess, and darkened the mild face of Christianity, by what was afterwards transformed into a mask of hypocrisy and self-righteousness. The merits of continence and chastity were urged, at an early period, by Tatian, the convert of Justin Martyr, after having been exploded with indignation by the apostles, who pronounced that "forbidding to marry, and to abstain from meats," were the "doctrines of devils and of seducing spirits[g]." Origen, about the year 210, went to the wild length of making himself a eunuch by abscission, and fancied that such insanity was acceptable to the Creator. The example was a fatal one. Vows of celibacy were thenceforth reckoned so meritorious, that after the first Council of Nice, holy orders were seldom conferred, but upon such as promised to live a single life: in the popedom of Syricius, between 385 and 401, ecclesiastical celibacy passed into a sort of canonical law, and was declared indispensable by Gregory VII., about the year 1080. Such was the construction which fanaticism put upon the exhortations of St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. We have reason to infer, upon the authority of Ambrose [f], Bishop of Milan, that the clergy of remote and retired places, such as the valleys of Piemont, did not feel themselves bound to observe the law of celibacy, even at the time when the bishops and priests of populous cities and districts, were growing more and more scrupulous upon the subject.

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[g] 1 Timothy iv. 1, 3.

Paul, a Christian of Egypt, was the first hermit. To avoid the persecution of Decius, in the year 250, he fled into the desert. Habit rendered solitude not disagreeable to him; he remained there till the day of his death, which took place in 340, and what choice recommended to him after the persecution ceased, the reputation of his sanctity imposed as a duty upon others, who desired to be thought as holy as himself. Anthony, the Anchorite, before his death, in 356, succeeded in establishing monasticism; and rigorous impositions continued to be considered the surest tests of Christian holiness. After the clergy had succeeded, by sundry expedients of this sort, unwarranted by Scripture, in establishing a character of superhuman sanctity, they took advantage of it, to arrogate to themselves the power of the Omnipotent. They assumed the right of excommunicating persons obnoxious to their own order, for offences, of which the apostles never dreamed [g]: they multiplied trespasses against the church, at their own discretion; closed the gates of heaven against all, but those whom they were pleased to admit; and insisted that none could expect to obtain pardon in the next world, unless peace was first made with them, in this; absolution and benediction received from their lips were, according to them, the first requisites of salvation. This assumption of the divine prerogative was but slowly and unwillingly allowed on the part of the laity: at length, Pope Innocent III. in the Lateran council of 1215, imposed auricular confession, once at least in every year, as an indispensable duty; and, fifteen years afterwards, took upon himself to declare the Bible a sealed book, and to forbid any person to read the Scriptures, without permission of his priest. The granting indulgences, was another power pertinaciously claimed by the hierarchy of Rome; but the pontifical fiat was not put upon this arrogant pretension until the fourteenth century.

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[f] "Quod eo non præterii, quia *in plerisque abditioribus locis,* cum ministerium gererent, vel etiam sacerdotium, filios susceperunt."—De Off. c. 50.

[g] "The Pope," says Bellarmine, "may make that which is sin, to become no sin, and that which is no sin to become sin."—Bel. Con. Bar. c. 13.

When, at last, it became fully understood, that there could be no peace below, nor mercy above, without the consent of this privileged class, another claim was set up by it, in defiance of the common understanding of mankind. Having assumed to itself the dispensation of heavenly favours, the Roman Catholic priesthood now demanded more than a share, even the disposal of secular power; and to their elected head, the Pope, was deputed the right of wielding the sceptre so usurped. Princes, kings, and emperors, found themselves constrained to humble themselves before those, who possessed (what Archimedes wished for) another world, as a fulcrum from which to move this. The hierarchs of Rome reigned triumphantly over the greatest potentates; and the crowns of conquerors, who had victoriously traversed the world in arms, were subjected to the mitre of a pontiff, who had just escaped from a cloister. There were, however, a few undaunted Christians left, who were scandalized at this assumption of temporal power, in the professed servants of Him, whose "kingdom is not of this world," and thought they saw "the image of the beast," and the marks of Antichrist, in such unscriptural arrogance. They protested against the pontifical tyrant, and cast away his chains from them. Anathemas were first fulminated against such daring rebels; and afterwards, the vassals of the Roman church, that is to say, kings and princes, were ordered to be the executioners of Papal vengeance, and to carry fire and sword into the valleys of Piemont, where the seeds of the obnoxious heresy were first spread. But the Vaudois were neither to be convinced nor compelled: for the one, they had too much faith; for the other, too much courage: and both faith and courage were only still more excited by the violence adopted for their suppression. Fire and the sword never yet made converts; their appeal is to the flesh, while conviction is of the mind.

# CHAPTER XII.

*Introduction of superstitions—Adoration of the cross—Retrospect—Relics—Canonization of saints—Image worship—The Vaudois resist these corruptions—Worship of the Virgin Mary—Parallel between the mythology of Rome and Greece, and the Popish religion—Invocation of saints and demi-gods—Lustrations—Sprinkling holy water—St. Januarius—Ancile—Miraculous Bambino—Santa Scala—Voluptuous paintings—Splendid rites—Processions—Purgatory—Sacred treasures of the temple of Delphi—Of Loretto—Pilgrimages—Conclusion.*

THE consideration of the Roman Catholic superstition, though not absolutely essential to our chief object, is yet so nearly allied to it, that the present chapter may at least be looked upon as a pardonable digression. When the mind is fully occupied with a subject, we are naturally tempted to follow the argument through its remotest branches; and indeed, on the present occasion, the character of the persecuted Vaudois will come out with greater lustre, from the contrast of the persecuting Roman Catholics.

The progressive introduction of idolatry, superstition, and Pagan customs, was equally fatal to Christian innocence, and subversive of spiritual integrity; and they may be traced almost to their first sources. One of the earliest practices, which afterwards degenerated into idolatry, was the use of the sign of the cross. At first, the ancient Christians innocently crossed themselves, whenever they were entering upon any serious engagement. From making the sign on their foreheads, they proceeded to adorn their arms and dress with the holy symbol; and there is reason to believe, that even in Chrysostom's time, about A. D. 400, the material representation was regarded with more than innocent reverence. That father certainly apostrophized it in very strange terms. "Blessed cross, thou art the great contrivance of the Father," &c. Tom. iv. in 2 Tim. Tertullian, two hundred years before, endeavoured to defend his flock from a charge of worshipping the cross; but whether that charge was false or true, we have no means of ascertaining. Considering the usual tendencies of the human mind, it certainly is not improbable, that the evil was even then in progress. (Ap. c. 16.)

But of all the practices, which were likely to have a dangerous influence upon the imagination, none ought sooner to have been checked by the church, than the veneration of the relics of martyrs. It came very early into practice, and originated in that natural expression of love and respect, which all men desire to shew to any one, who has been eminent for his virtues or his genius. Every thing, which recals the mighty dead, becomes hallowed to us, as a memorial of that which we would not willingly forget, and which is not wholly lost to us, as long as a single recollection survives, to link us to his grave. But the abuse of this feeling, is destructive of all true religion.

The ceremonies observed by the Christians of Smyrna, at the martyrdom of Polycarp, about the year 167, shew that the tokens of reverence for departed men of God, were not yet displayed in imitation of heathen usages. "We placed his bones in a proper cemetery, where we intend to meet together, with God's assistance, to solemnize the birth-day of this martyr, with exultation and rejoicing, that we may celebrate the memorial of former martyrs, and encourage others to undergo the same martyrdom."

(Apud. Euseb. lib. iv. c. 15.) In less than a hundred years afterwards, we discover marks of the growing evil. At the execution of Cyprian, in 258, napkins and handkerchiefs were dipped in his blood, and held up to the veneration of the faithful. In the next century, we have the authority of Eusebius, that the Eucharist was celebrated upon the tombs, and before the relics, of the saints, and we have also the avowal of Basil, " that such relics were held in veneration, because he that toucheth the bones of a martyr, receives some holy influence from that grace that is in the body." (Tom. i. Hom. in Ps. 115.)

In the fifth century the superstition had got to such a fearful height, that Jerome asks, triumphing, as it were, in his shame, " Was the august Constantine guilty of sacrilege when he transferred the holy relics of St. Andrew, St. Timothy, and St. Luke, to Constantinople? Or Arcadius, our present prince, was he sacrilegious when he brought those of the prophet Samuel, (how could he recognize them?) out of Judea to Thrace?" (Tom. ii. adv. Vig.)

Cyril takes it for granted that great virtue must adhere to the ashes of martyrs, " If handkerchiefs and aprons, when touched by the sick, can free them from infirmities, how much more should the relics of the prophets raise the dead?" (Catech. 18.)

Vigilantius, an eloquent professor of this period, was stigmatized by the church as an heretic, because he boldly and reasonably exposed the idolatry of performing religious services in temples, dedicated to the names of dead martyrs, rather than to that of the living God, and declared against relics, pilgrimages, and austerities. Always bearing in view the leading object of these pages, it is refreshing to the mind to believe that, at a crisis when such glaring corruptions were creeping into the Christian church, that part of it, of which the Vaudois formed a branch, was not entirely infected by the contagion. Ambrose of Milan, who presided over the diocese of the north of Italy, and was contemporary with Basil, Jerome, and Cyril, the advocates of relics, openly reproved the mother of Augustin, for attempting to introduce, what he properly called the heathenish custom, of resorting to the graves of the dead, with lamps and tapers, and adoring their remains. (Aug. Con. lib. vi. c. 2.)

The canonization of martyrs and saints, the natural result of these profane practices was, however, such a daring violation of the second commandment, that it was long before even Roman arrogance ventured to pronounce upon it. In the twelfth century this top, and highest degree of idolatry, as it has been justly styled, was not thought too lofty for man to surmount, and to this day it continues to be one of the prerogatives of Papal infallibility, to determine who, among those who have lived piously on earth, shall be advanced to a seat in heaven, and invoked as mediators.

But though the canonization of pretended saints followed but slowly, the introduction of paintings and images into churches, and the subsequent adoration of them, spread with great rapidity. Against the first encroachment, Ambrose of Milan, and with him doubtless the clergy of the Vaudois, loudly protested. " Holy Rachel," said Ambrose, " hid the images, because the church does not allow the vain representations and figures of images." (De fuga Seculi. c. 5.)

The pictures and figures that were admitted into the sanctuaries, in the fourth century, were merely regarded as ornaments, or historical delineations, until the beginning of the seventh century, when they were rashly pronounced by Gregory the Great, to be " such affecting memorials of the sufferings of the saints, and such guides and helps to the conceptions of the Godhead," that he rebuked Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, who had better notions of their evil tendency, for destroying some images that had been set up, in a church under his jurisdiction. "Not that they are to be worshipped," said Gregory, "but only to be regarded as teaching what is to be worshipped." The baneful effect of this sophistry was soon felt; idolatrous objects stole the hearts of worshippers from their Maker, the Christian world was divided by controversies that arose out of the pernicious practice; the authority of the Popes was strengthened, and indeed may be dated from the beginning of these contentions.

Where then was the true church of Christ, after image worship was avowed by the Roman hierarchy, at the second Council of Nice, in 767? It was to be found in the churches of Piemont[h], to preside over which Bishop Claude was called from Spain, that he might stem the torrent of idolatry, and oppose the attempts at innovation, made by that second Council of Nice. The bishops of the north of Italy did then declare against the idolatrous practices established by the Pope, and Claude was promoted to the see of Turin, to support their opposition, for he was well known to be an enemy to the corruptions of Rome, and a decided friend to Scriptural purity of doctrine. As all the innovations, which had began to thicken upon the Christian church, were directly opposed to Scripture, it was the policy of Rome to support itself on the decisions of the fathers, and certain doctors of celebrity. Every thing that had been advanced by them, and which savoured of the prevailing superstitions, was fondly cherished, and quoted as authority. Hence a few expressions of Augustin, touching the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, were exalted into an acknowledgment of her claim to divine honours; and as early as the age of Gregory the Third, A. D. 730, we find that pope confessing to Leo, Emperor of Constantinople, " If it be an image of his mother, we say, pray to your son to save us." In the ninth century, the superstition was so common, that Claude of Turin, in ridicule of such gross idolatry, asks, " Why do they not, on the same score, worship all that are virgins, because a virgin brought forth Jesus Christ?" The office of the Virgin, as now in use, was first sanctioned by Urban, at the council of Clermont, in the year 1195; and Dominic, of inquisitorial memory, has the honour of having completed, what Milner calls, the scheme of mechanical devotion, by constituting the rosary, or psalter, of the Virgin Mary[a]. It was thus, by degrees, that services were multiplied, petitions to saints substituted for prayers to the Creator, the Gospel buried beneath

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[h] "Nel secolo nono non vi fu nuova setta, ma ben nuovo fomentatore delle precedenti, fra quali fu Claudio Vescovo di Torino, discepolo di Felice, che negava la riverenza alla santa croce, come anche la veneratione ed invocatione de' Santi, ed fu principal destruttor dell' Imagini."—See, Memorie Historiche dell' introduttione delle Heresie, da Marco Aurelio Rovenco.

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[a] " The same Dominic constituted the Rosary, or the Psalter, of the Virgin Mary. To illustrate this subject, which, though egregiously trifling in its nature, deserves a few moments' consideration, as tending to give a just view of the religious taste then in fashion, it is to be observed that the old anchorets counted the number of their prayers by grains, or such like marks. Those who could not read, nor recite the Psalter by heart, supplied that deficiency by repeating the Lord's Prayer. And thus illiterate persons, at canonical hours, performed devotions, corresponding to those of the Psalter, recited by the clergy, and others: and they were taught, no doubt, that their simple performances would be equally meritorious with the religious exercises of the more learned. On these principles, Paternosters were counted by studs of the belts; and Peter the hermit, famous for promoting the first crusades, instructed the illiterate laity to say a number of Paternosters and Ave-Marys, in lieu of each canonical hour of the church offices. And thus, I imagine, he attempted to qualify his enthusiastic crusaders for the kingdom of heaven. But to Dominic, the glory of completing the scheme of *mechanical* devotion, belongs. He directed men to recite fifteen decads of Hail, Mary, &c. and one paternoster between each decad. Thus men were taught to repeat a hundred and fifty times the angel's salutation of the Virgin, interlarded with a number of Paternosters, and to believe that this practice would be as acceptable as the recital of the hundred and fifty Psalms. I suppose very zealous devotees would go through all this work at one time; perhaps others, less laborious, might perform it at successive intervals. But is this the spirit of grace and supplication promised to the

Christian church? Is this the spirit of adoption, whereby men cry, Abba, Father? What is this but the spirit of bondage, and miserable superstition; the religion of the lips, the self-righteous drudgery of so much devotional work, with a view to purchase the remission of sins, and to ease the consciences of men, who lived without understanding the doctrine, or practising the precepts of Scripture?"—*Milner's History of the Church of Christ, p. 24.*

I am tempted, in this place, to add what is called, by the Roman Church, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the two prayers to the Virgin, (*Ave Maria,* and *Salve Regina*), with a translation of them, as a fair specimen of the manner in which all the divine attributes are ascribed, by the Romanists, to the human object of their adoration.

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| Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis .......... | Holy Mary, pray for us. |
| Sancta Dei Genitrix, ora pro nobis .... | Holy Mother of God, pray for us. |
| Sancta Virgo Virginum, ora pro nobis .. | Holy Virgin of Virgins, pray for us. |
| Mater Christi, ora pro nobis .......... | Mother of Christ, pray for us. |
| Mater Divinæ gratiæ, ora pro nobis .... | Mother of Divine grace, pray for us. |
| Mater purissima, ora pro nobis ........ | Most pure Mother, pray for us. |
| Mater castissima, ora pro nobis ........ | Most chaste Mother, pray for us. |
| Mater inviolata, ora pro nobis ........ | Most immaculate Mother, pray for us. |
| Mater intemerata, ora pro nobis ...... | Undefiled Mother, pray for us. |
| Mater amabilis, ora pro nobis .......... | Amiable Mother, pray for us. |
| Mater admirabilis, ora pro nobis ...... | Admirable Mother, pray for us. |
| Mater Creatoris, ora pro nobis ... .... | Mother of the Creator, pray for us. |
| Mater Salvatoris, ora pro nobis ........ | Mother of the Saviour, pray for us. |
| Virgo prudentissima, ora pro nobis .... | Most prudent Virgin, pray for us. |
| Virgo veneranda, ora pro nobis ........ | Venerable Virgin, pray for us. |
| Virgo potens, ora pro nobis .......... | Powerful Virgin, pray for us. |
| Virgo clemens, ora pro nobis ......... | Benign Virgin, pray for us. |
| Virgo fidelis, ora pro nobis .......... | Faithful Virgin, pray for us. |
| Speculum justitiæ, ora pro nobis ...... | Mirror of justice, pray for us. |
| Sedes sapientiæ, ora pro nobis ........ | Seat of wisdom, pray for us. |
| Causa nostræ lætitiæ, ora pro nobis .... | Cause of our joy, pray for us. |
| Vas Spirituale, ora pro nobis .......... | Vessel of the Spirit, pray for us. |
| Vas honorabile, ora pro nobis .......... | Vessel of honour, pray for us. |
| Vas insignæ devotionis, ora pro nobis.... | Signal vessel of devotion, pray for us. |
| Rosa mystica, ora pro nobis .......... | Mystic rose, pray for us. |
| Turris Davidia, ora pro nobis ........ | Tower of David, pray for us. |

accumulated superstitions, and the rites of the Christian church assimilated to the mythology of the heathens. But impious and

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| Domus aurea, ora pro nobis | House of gold, pray for us. |
| Turis eburnea, ora pro nobis | Tower of ivory, pray for us. |
| Fœderis arca, ora pro nobis | Ark of the covenant, pray for us. |
| Janua cœli, ora pro nobis | Gate of heaven, pray for us. |
| Stella matutina, ora pro nobis | Morning star, pray for us. |
| Salus infirmorum, ora pro nobis | Salvation of the weak, pray for us. |
| Refugium peccatorum, ora pro nobis | Refuge of sinners, pray for us. |
| Consolatrix afflictorum, ora pro nobis | Consoler of the afflicted, pray for us. |
| Auxilium Christianorum, ora pro nobis | Help of Christians, pray for us. |
| Regina Angelorum, ora pro nobis | Queen of Angels, pray for us. |
| Regina Patriarcharum, ora pro nobis | Queen of the Patriarchs, pray for us. |
| Regina Prophetarum, ora pro nobis | Queen of the Prophets, pray for us. |
| Regina Apostolorum, ora pro nobis | Queen of the Apostles, pray for us. |
| Regina Martyrum, ora pro nobis | Queen of the Martyrs, pray for us. |
| Regina Confessorum, ora pro nobis | Queen of the Confessors, pray for us. |
| Regina Virginum, ora pro nobis | Queen of Virgins, pray for us. |
| Regina Sanctorum omnium, ora pro nobis. | Queen of all the Saints, pray for us. |

Sub tuum præsidium confugimus, Sancta Dei Genitrix, nostras deprecationes ne despicias in necessitatibus nostris, sed a periculis cunctis libera nos semper, Virgo gloriosa, et benedicta.

Under thy protection we take refuge, Holy Mother of God, despise not our supplications in our necessities, but always deliver us from all dangers, Glorious and Blessed Virgin.

Ora pro nobis, Sancta Dei Genitrix, ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

Pray for us, Holy Mother of God, that we may be rendered worthy of the promises of Christ.

Ave Maria! gratiæ plena, Dominus tecum. Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus. Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus, nunc, et in hora mortis nostræ. Amen.

Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord be with thee. Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is Jesus, the fruit of thy womb. Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and in the hour of our death. Amen.

Salve, Regina! Mater misericordiæ, vitæ dulcedo, et spes nostra salve. Ad te clamamus exules filii Evæ. Ad te suspiramus gementes, et flentes in hac lacrymarum valle. Eja ergo advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos con-

idolatrous as it is, in a Protestant's opinion, to hear the Virgin Mary, and a cloud of saints, invoked in language, which ought to be addressed to the Supreme Being only, and to see religious ceremonies performed in honour not of the Creator, but of creatures, subject to the same infirmities as ourselves, yet it must be allowed, that there is no service in the Roman Catholic Church so impressive, as the evening-service to the Virgin, or *Ave-Maria.* Whether it is the shortness, or the simplicity of the service, or the calm and tranquil hour in which it is performed, that hour of sunset which has such inexpressible charms for the imagination, under an Italian sky ; or whether it be from a combination of these causes, there is nothing, either of the magnificent or the imposing in Popish solemnities, which can compare with this. " C'était à l'heure de la soirée," says Madame de Staël, in her Corinne, when she is supposing her hero to be in one of his most serious moments, " où l'on entend toutes les cloches de Rome sonner l'Ave-Maria :

> ———————Squilla di lontano
> Che paja il giorno pianger che si muore.
>
> DANTE.

et le son de l'airain, dans l'eloignement, paraît plaindre le jour qui se meurt ;" and certainly if the mind cannot be influenced by a solemn call like this, when it is invited to repose under the security of heavenly protection, during the ensuing hours of gloom and darkness, it never can be religiously affected at

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verte, et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende, O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Maria.

Hail, Queen ! Mother of mercy, the delight of our life, and our hope, hail ! To thee we cry, we who are the banished sons of Eve. To thee we raise our spirit, groaning and weeping in this valley of tears. Hail then our advocate, turn thine eyes of mercy towards us, and shew us Jesus, the blessed fruit of thy womb, after this exile, O benign, O pious, O sweet Virgin Mary.

all. Rome, however, is not the place, where the impressions of this service is best understood. Who that has been at Venice, and attended vespers at St. Mark's, with feelings that are brought from colder regions, where the name of God alone can warm the heart, has not lamented, that the aspirations of the soul, which seem to be so devoutly offered from the hundreds, who pour into that venerable cathedral for a few moments, before the last glimmer of twilight expires, should be breathed in any other name, than that of the most High ? Who, as he has beheld the prostrate multitude bending their heads, and humbling their spirits upon the time-worn pavement, which has witnessed the same prostrations for nearly a thousand years, has not been jealous for the King of Ages, and trembled to think, that worshippers should come, in their blindness, to divide their hearts with the Eternal, and to pronounce Sancta Maria, Sancta Dei Genitrix, ora pro nobis, (Holy Mary, Holy Mother of God, pray for us) in the same breath with, Pater de Cœlis Deus, miserere nobis ! (Oh God, the father of Heaven, have mercy upon us !)

Venice is the city of silence. The gondolas, or barges, gliding noiselessly along the water of the canals, are the only things which move, freighted with men or merchandize ; not the sound of a wheel, nor the clattering of a hoof ever breaks upon the ear. The hum of human voices is all that is heard, and this seems to cease, when the chimes have pealed for Ave-Maria. St. Mark's, which, of all other sanctuaries, from its dark and retiring aisles, its massy pillars, its antiquated construction, its dingy colouring, and imperfect light, is calculated to add to the effect of this evening-service, is completely filled every evening a few minutes after the vesper-bell has tolled. A concourse of people hurry in from all quarters : the merchant ceases from his half finished bargain, the young and the gay desist from trifling, the porter leaves his burthen upon the steps of the cathedral, and all that happen to be near quit their occupations or amusements, to offer up the prayer of a moment to the Virgin. The organ plays a soft symphony, while the multitude are entering, and dispersing themselves through the church: on a sudden a small bell tinkles, and every knee is bent, and every head bowed in silent adoration. Not a sound from within or without disturbs the spirit of supplication. This lasts for a minute or two. The bell tinkles again: the congregation then rise from their knees, the tapers are extinguished, and the sacred walls are soon left to solitude and darkness. I witnessed this scene several times, and never without an unusual degree of emotion. It was impossible not to honour the feeling of devotion, short-lived as it might be, which brought so many to the foot of the altar, and equally impossible not to condemn the profane system which directs the supplicant to address his prayers to the imaginary *Queen of Heaven*, and the *Mother of God*.

The discipline of the Christian church, was first calm and serious; but it encreased into severity, and afterwards, by a contrary impulse, relaxed into the opposite extreme, and became the image and counterpart of Pagan indulgence and superstition. It is easy to draw a parallel between Christian worship, falsely so called in the hands of the Papists, and the popular religion of Rome and Greece; nor is it difficult to prove, that the miracles, the mummeries, and over-burdened rites of the former, are but a revival of the fables, and sacred observances of the latter. What, for instance, is the exaltation of martyrs and popes, to the rank of angelic beings, but the old pagan deification of men, and wherein does the canonization of saints differ from an heathen apotheosis? If there be any difference, it is in favour of the heathens; for though they might worship the spirits of deceased heroes, they did not cherish their bones, or shew a score of skulls of the same person. The veneration of relics is a pious fraud, reserved for those, who affect to be the professors of a more spiritual religion.

The Roman Catholic condemns, as fable, the amours of Jupiter and Danaë; yet he makes no scruple of marrying Christ to St. Catharine, of Sienna, and would deem the disbelief of it a sin, though the mere repetition of such a fiction, has something in it almost blasphemous, to Protestant ears. Nay, the Romanist affects to have evidence for his fact; he appeals to documents; he shews you, in the public library of Sienna, the correspondence between the sainted Catharine and her affianced Redeemer, and her mother-in-law, the Virgin Mary. I have seen too, in the cathedral of Milan, a large painting, representing our Saviour as exchanging his own blood with that of St. Catharine of Sienna!

The Italians of the present day have no better authority for invoking the spirits of defunct martyrs, than the Gentiles of old for calling upon "the gods of the nations," and the lazy clown, who implored the aid of Hercules to help his cart-wheel out of a rut, was not more to be laughed at, than the dull boatmen of Naples, who, at every puff of wind, will leave the helm, and throw themselves upon their knees, to supplicate the assistance of St. Januarius. Numa's assignations with the nymph Egeria, are considered to be the inventions of an artful politician, but who of the Catholic priesthood will permit his flock to doubt that the holy Francis, of Assisi, had real interviews with the Virgin Mary? In the course of my excursion, last year, I paid a visit to the celebrated church and convent of Madonna degli Angeli, called Porziuncola, near Assisi. One of the monks conducted me through the various scenes of the miracles of St. Francis, the founder of his order, and kept entertaining me with legends, many of which I really should have supposed were the fictions of his own brain, if he had not afterwards presented me with a small book, entitled, " Breve descrizione della Sagra Basilica di S. Maria degli Angioli," published by the *Pope's authority*, and containing a full history of all that saint's marvellous adventures. It has gone through twelve editions, and professes to be written for " the instruction of the devout, and especially of pilgrims who visit the holy Porziuncola." The following is a literal translation of two of those preposterous tales to which I have alluded.

" It was in the year 1221, and in the month of October, that the holy father, St. Francis, was praying one night very earnestly for sinners, in his own habitation, distant about forty paces from the Porziuncola; and behold an angel came to him, and told him that Christ, and the Virgin Mary, were waiting for him in the chapel. Francis obeyed the invitation, and went and prostrated himself upon the earth, and adored the majesty of the Most High. And Christ said to him, ' Francis, in recompence for the zeal thou hast displayed for the salvation of souls, I permit thee to ask of me whatever thou shalt desire, for the benefit of souls, and for the glory of my name.' And Francis, being prompted by the Virgin, humbly asked, that to all those who should enter that church, pardon and indulgence for all their sins should be freely granted, upon condition of confessing them there to the priest. And Jesus granted his request, but commanded him to go to Perugia, to his vicar, the Pope, and to demand the indulgence in his name." P. 13.

" In the month of January, in the year 1223, two years after the grant of the indulgence, St. Francis was in his little cell near the Porziuncola, meditating upon the passion of his blessed Redeemer, and lacerating his own body with stripes, when suddenly he heard a knock at the door, and a voice exclaiming, " Where is the necessity of so much mortification? You are a young man, and there is time enough before you to prepare for death?" He knew directly that it was Satan, with one of his evil suggestions; and, in order to prevail against him, he threw himself naked into a place full of thorns, which was near at hand, and rolled himself about among them, until every part of his body was pierced and covered with blood. Oh, wonderful prodigy! All of a sudden, the prickly bushes were changed into roses, red and white, without any thorns; the place was illuminated with a brilliant light, the saint was arrayed in white apparel, and a multitude of angels appeared, who invited him to accompany them to the chapel, where Christ was again waiting for him, with his most holy mother. Having plucked twelve red roses, and twelve white, Francis, surrounded by the angels, who spread their wings over him, proceeded by a path which was covered with the most precious stuffs, to the sacred Porziuncola, where he saw, for the second time, Jesus sitting upon one side of the altar, and the Virgin Mary upon the other," &c. &c. P. 16.

Such were the impostures by which the most insane, or the most designing of the Roman church, became to be regarded as infallible oracles during their life-time, and adored at their death, for if the Greeks filled Olympus with demi-gods, the Papist has occupied heaven with saints; and when the Pope proceeds to canonize a predecessor, he is only imitating the presumptuous idolatry of the Pontifex Maximus, of imperial Rome, who consecrated altars to Cæsar or Augustus.

> "In medio mihi Cæsar erit, templumque tenebit."
>
> VIRGIL.

The exorcisms of the Emperor Vespasian, in the first century, and the pretended miraculous cures of Prince Hohenlohe, in the present day, are superstitions of the same family; and the sprinkling of holy water, which still takes place in the houses and streets of Roman Catholic Italy, is but a vestige of the lustrations, with which the ancient masters of the world used to purify their capital. The augurs and haruspices of old were wont to amaze the people with ominous relations of the statues of the gods sweating, of spears shaking in marble hands, and of images transporting themselves from one spot to another. The pious fathers of a Carthusian, or Capuchin convent, will tell no less miraculous tales of Madonnas opening their eyes, or shaking their heads, and of tears falling down the cheeks of crucifixes; the sacred processions too, in consequence of such auspicious, or inauspicious prodigies, were of a like kind, and the "Ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio," or acts of devotion at every shrine, of which Livy speaks, are recognized in the visits which priests and monks occasionally make, to all the madonnas of a city, in succession. Even in the days of idolatry, Horace laughed at the pretended miracle, which was wrought at Gnatia, where it was said, that certain hard substances would liquefy, in the temple, without the application of fire.

————Dehinc Gnatia lymphis
Iratis exstructa dedit risusque jocosque,
Dum flamma sine thura liquescere limine sacro
Persuadere cupit.————

Hor. Sat. lib. I. v. 97.

It is a curious coincidence, in the annals of Pagan and Roman Catholic superstition, as Addison observes, that the liquefaction of the blood of Januarius, should annually be exhibited at Naples, and that the scene of each of these miracles should be in the same province.

Of the numberless impostures of the Roman church, this is the most audacious, and, at the same time, the most popular of them all. Thrice in every year it is repeated, eight times in May, as many in September, and once in December; and though the very frequency of the juggle, and the regular return of the season for amusing the people with the repetition of it, must take away all that mystery, which can alone render such a farce respectable; yet all Naples appears to be in a state of devout and anxious suspense, till it is known how the saint means to behave on the days on which he is expected to reveal his power. I happened to be at Naples upon one of these occasions, and a short account of the solemnity will not be out of place. The chapel where the miracle was to be performed, was crowded with people; and, contrary to the usual practice of the Roman priesthood, who do not in general permit the vulgar and the profane to look too closely behind the veil, spectators were permitted to stand upon the very steps of the altar, and quite near to the officiating canon. This has been called a proof of the genuineness of the miracle, and an honest willingness to convince the sceptic that there is no deception. For my own part, I thought differently; and considered the permission to approach and examine so narrowly, a pretty clear demonstration, that the principal performers in the drama were in such complete possession of the secret, that there was no apprehension of failure or detection. After the celebration of mass, a silver-gilt bust of the saint was placed before the altar, dressed in rich brocade, and decorated with bouquets of flowers. A priest then went to a sort of tabernacle, opened the silver doors, and produced a casket, which, in shape, size, and appearance, did not differ much from an old-fashioned carriage lantern, taken out of its socket. In this casket was the mystic and congealed blood. It was lifted up, and submitted to the inspection of every body within the rails of the altar; and I distinctly saw a hard, dark substance, and kept a steady eye upon the motions of him who held it. He moved it about between his hands, turned it from side to side, placed it before and very near the tapers, and presented it occasionally to the bust, as if imploring the mediation of the saint. Upon the first production of the casket, the voices of the surrounding multitude were raised in supplication, that the saint would shew his good will towards his devotees, by a speedy liquefaction of his blood. Close to the rails of the altar, on the outside, were a number of old women, said to be descendants of the nurse of Januarius, who caught his blood, at his martyrdom; and their importunities were loudly expressed above the rest. After awhile, the impatience of these attendant votaries became too great to be restrained; their prayers assumed the tone of remonstrance, and bitter expostulation; and at last they were so indignant that the saint did not yield to their petition, that invectives, and even imprecations of the most violent nature, were uttered against his uncomplying sanctity. The prosperity of the city is said to be augured by an early completion of the miracle, and nothing can exceed the real or affected terror and rage of the populace, and especially of these old women, representatives of the aforesaid nurse, when it does not work to their mind. Upon this occasion, however, their vociferations soon succeeded, and the blood liquefied in about ten minutes after it was exposed to view. By what chemical art the effect is produced, will probably remain a subject for conjecture, as long as the nature of the mass to be transformed, is undisclosed; but I was quite satisfied, that what was but just before a hard and congealed substance, had become visibly fluid, and that there was no legerdemain to exchange one casket for another, and so to impose upon the credulous. The priest, at my request, presented the object to my deliberate gaze, and I saw distinctly, that the liquefaction had taken place. That the priests, to whom the secret is confided, can produce the change very rapidly, if they please, is evident from my own observation; for the blood dissolved so suddenly, that the eye could scarcely discern the process of liquefaction: and it is notorious, that during the French dominion, when the saint was obstinate, a peremptory message from the commander of the troops produced an instantaneous miracle!

An hierarchy, which shrinks not from vying with heathen priestcraft upon so large a scale, will not hesitate to adopt minor superstitions; and the round shield, or ancile, which was said to have fallen from heaven, in the reign of Numa, was not more an object of reverential regard in those days of darkness, than the miraculous *bambino* is to the Catholic of our days; this image of the new-born Jesus, wrapt in swaddling clothes, and encircled with a crown, is still preserved in the church of Santa Maria Ara Cœli, at Rome, and declared, by the Capuchins of that convent, to have been brought down from heaven by an angel, and presented to their order. Nearly two thousand years ago, the hundred and twenty-four steps of the temple, that stood on the spot where this church now stands, were ascended by Julius Cæsar, on his knees, as an act of piety: and the steps of the Scala Santa[b] are worn by the knees of Catholics, who ascend them in the same manner, and are promised hundreds of years of remission from purgatory, for such acts of pious humiliation.

In pagan worship, devotion was supposed to be kindled, when the votaries beheld the beautiful statues of Venus or Apollo; and the affecting representation of Adonis expiring at the feet of the goddess of love, was often said to melt the heart in heavenly transport. The severe notions of Protestant simplicity have decided, that there was too much of voluptuous sentiment in this sort of devotion, but the Papists are so far from thinking that the feelings of earth should be excluded from acts of piety, that they employ the most alluring forms of beauty and grace, in aid of their devotion. The fancy cannot image to itself any thing more excitingly lovely than the representations of female beauty, both in painting and sculpture, which decorate the churches in the capital cities of Roman Catholic kingdoms, and which go under the names of Madonnas and female saints. The expression of countenance, in almost all, is soft and captivating; but, in the Magdalenes, there is an indecent voluptuousness in the figure, an undisguised revealment of charms, and a languishing air in the features, which make them better suited to the sanctuaries of debauchery, than the sanctuaries of religion.

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[b] Nearly opposite to the principal door of the cathedral of St. John Laterano, at Rome, is the holy staircase, and chapel of the Saviour, called Sancta Sanctorum. The holy staircase, consisting of twenty-eight steps of white marble, is said to have been brought from Pilate's palace at Jerusalem, and to have been sanctified by the feet of Jesus. It is, on this account, held in such veneration, that it is considered a most meritorious duty for pilgrims to visit, and ascend it on their knees. I had an opportunity of seeing six persons, one or two of whom were of high rank, performing this service at the same time.

In the public festivals of pagan worship we find the same prototypes of Catholic ceremonies: long trains of priests and priestesses singing the praises of the gods, and marching in solemn array, from one temple to another; the ministers of the altar, clad in the most splendid vestments, sprinkling purifying water, throwing about essences and perfumes, scattering clouds of frankincense, bearing torches or tapers, or boughs of palm or laurel in their hands, signifying every spiritual sentiment or grace, by some corresponding gesture or action, prostrating themselves upon the pavement, or making obeisances before the high places. In every one of these particulars, the practices of the church of Rome, are to be traced.

Again, unless the rites of sepulture were strictly observed, the soul of a deceased pagan could gain no repose, but was stopped upon the banks of the Styx, and there compelled to wander, a melancholy ghost, till dust was thrown upon the body: if certain masses, and requiems, are not said for his soul, the Roman

Catholic, in purgatory[c], must suffer penalties not less than those, which were undergone on this side of the river of oblivion. If the temple of Delphi was enriched by presents of inestimable value, which the piety of heathen worshippers was persuaded to entrust to the keeping of the priests of Apollo; the clergy of Loretto have succeeded, in like manner, in making the treasury of the Santa Casa[d], the depository of riches, which they persuade their Roman Catholic dupes, had better lie there untouched, than be employed for the relief of misery, or in the service of the public. If it were thought an act of the most laudable devotion, in the votaries of the heathen world, to join in a solemn deputation from some distant part, to the island of Delos, the zealots of the Roman Catholic faith have been taught, by their spiritual instructors, that a pilgrimage to Rome, or Loretto, is one of the most certain means of propitiating the favour of heaven. The consequences, in each case, have not unfrequently been equally fatal to innocence, and often have processions of pilgrims been converted into bands of profligate voluptuaries.

It is thus that Popish services assimilate themselves to heathen rites; in the splendid decorations of the churches and the ministers; in the multiplicity of objects of adoration; in the attractive beauty of the paintings and statues; in the ceremonies of the priesthood, in which the people do not join; in the use of holy water and incense; in the offerings upon the altar; in the votive pictures and tablets; and in that maze of puerile and unsanctifying forms, which converts religion into a mere business of the hour, destroys the moral principle, and weakens the belief in personal responsibility.

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[c] A popish writer defends the rationality of the doctrine of purgatory, by a reference to passages in Plato, Cicero, and Virgil.—See Bellarmine de Purg. lib. i. c. 11.

[d] The Santa Casa is declared, by the Roman church, to be the very cottage in which Joseph and the Virgin Mary dwelt at Nazareth, and to have been miraculously transported by angels from the Holy Land, to the spot at Loretto, where it now stands. The holy house itself is enclosed in a magnificent cathedral, of which it forms the principal chapel, to which thousands of pilgrims repair annually to pay their vows. At one time 100,000 are said to have resorted thither on the same day; and the treasures in silver, gold, and precious stones, were beyond all calculation. At present the treasury is not very rich, and it will be long before it recovers from the spoliations of the late war.

# CHAPTER XIII.

*General observations—The churches which have been planted by the Vaudois—In Calabria, Spain, and France—Persecutions in these countries—The Waldenses of Provence—Their correspondence with Œcolampadius—Francis I.—The cruelties practised at Merindol, at Cabriere.—Aymond de la Voye.—The Waldenses of Piemont take measures for their own defence.—Concessions granted by their Sovereign—Review of their character, conflicts and opinions—Their claims to attention—Concluding observations.*

The preceding chapter contains but a mere outline of the superstitions of the Roman church, and of the monstrous absurdities which its hierarchy introduced into the forms of Christian worship. The Vaudois were the first who engaged to cleanse this Augean stable of corruption; and if we had records that would enable us to follow them, step by step, through their bold and arduous undertaking, we should be able to exhibit one of the most glorious pictures of human perseverance that was ever displayed. They not only succeeded in preserving the pure doctrine and discipline of the primitive ages, in their own secluded valleys, but they carried them into distant parts; and upon the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, in the remote provinces of Spain and Calabria, and in the plains of France were witnessed for a time the extraordinary effects produced upon the manners and character of the inhabitants, by Waldensian preachers, whose Alpine retreats gave the name to a church, which has withstood every assault that has been made upon it, on the spot where it was originally founded. And this, it will be observed, is not the least remarkable feature in the history of the Vaudois. They sent forth teachers, who crossed the Alps, the Apennines, and the Pyrenees, making proselytes wherever they went, and establishing the same fundamental truths, and even the same forms of worship, which prevailed among their own community; but no where, save between the Pelice and the Clusone, have those truths been uninterruptedly preserved. The parent stock remains, but most of the branches have been cut off. They were soon put down in Spain; the spirit of the proselytes there was not enough to support them against the strong arm of oppression, although the country presented the same mountain fastnesses, as that from whence the purer faith had reached them. In Calabria, the new church flourished for about two centuries: it was planted in the year 1370; and though the lords, and landed proprietors of that province, were indignant at the idea of being set right upon the vital topics of religion by their vassals, yet they found it to be to their interest to protect a peasantry, who were more industrious in their habits, more quiet in their conduct, and more regular in their payments, than the turbulent inhabitants of the adjoining districts. But when the progress of Lutheranism threatened to hurl the triple tyrant from his throne, the Waldenses of Calabria were thought to be too much in concert with the reformers of the north, and too near the states of the church, to be suffered to remain unmolested. The bull for their extermination went forth, and no mercy was shewn to those who refused to be baptized by a Popish priest: the pastors were carried in chains to Rome, some were starved to death in prison, others were tortured in the dungeons of the inquisition, after witnessing the utter destruction or dispersion of their flock; and two were burnt at the stake, to gratify the malignity of Pope Pius IV. who could not be satisfied, unless he saw, with his own eyes, the expiring agonies of the heretics, who had dared to question his infallibility.

In France, the Waldensian name and faith continued to be upheld for several hundred years ; but even there, after extending into Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, Guienne, and Picardy, they could not finally make head against persecution, but gradually submitted to the strong hand of power. It is not meant to say, that the spirit of religious reformation has been at any period of history totally subdued in those provinces, where the Albigenses and Waldenses once formed so large a portion of the population. But where religious services are performed, as they were there, in secret, and where there is no visible church or congregation, as has been the case at different periods in the history of the French Protestants, there, it must be allowed, you cannot expect to find the faith of the reformers in the same purity, as among men, who resolutely persevere in making an open profession of their opinions, who form a community among themselves, and are prepared to assert their right of conscience, sword in hand, whenever it is disputed.

From century to century, the Waldenses of Piemont have composed a distinct people, and have successfully vindicated their religious independence. The churches of the three valleys have remained churches : and whenever it was found that an attempt was making to prevent the free exercise of their religion, in the more habitable and accessible regions that bordered upon the plains, these hardy mountaineers retreated, with their wives and children, among the rocks and forests of the higher Alps, rather than renounce the doctrines of their ancestors. If they could not worship God in their own way in their villages, the whole race of them retired to their strong holds in the mountains, until the fury of persecution had exhausted itself: but they never submitted nor recanted, nor were they ever entirely driven from their antient settlements. Like the Athenians of old, who declared, by retiring to their ships, that Athens consisted not in its walls, or houses, but in its citizens, who would not receive a foreign yoke ; so did these intrepid Vaudois shew, that the pure Waldensian church continued to exist, in the faithful adherence of its professors to the creed that had been delivered to them, whether it was in their places of usual habitation and resort, or in the glens and caverns, where they had fled for shelter.

But the Waldenses of Piemont will not only be honoured by a distinguished mention in history, as having retained their political existence, and original settlements, when other professors of the same faith were unable to do so ; but, also, as having preserved their religious opinions in greater purity. Nothing has ever prevailed among them, like the fanatical or compromising principles, which are to be detected in others, who have been known under the same denomination ; and the reader of ecclesiastical history should be cautious, in not attributing the wild doctrines of some of the Bohemian and Provençal Waldenses, to the Vaudois of the Cottian Alps. The Waldensian pastors, who held a correspondence with Œcolampadius, the Reformer, and professed their doubts as to the lawfulness of submitting to the civil and constituted authorities [e]; and who even acknowledged that their clergy held it wrong to marry, but frequently broke their vows of celibacy [f]; these, it must be remembered, were Waldenses of Provence. It was to the same persons also, that Œcolampadius had afterwards occasion to write his letter of remonstrance, upon the subject of their timid compliance with the unscriptural practices of their Roman Catholic neighbours. " I have heard," said he, " that, from fear of persecution, you dissemble, and conceal your faith; that you communicate with unbelievers; and that you attend abominable mass. But if you may conscientiously conceal your faith from Antichrist, you may do so with the Turk, or you might worship, with Diocletian, at the altars of Jupiter or Venus[g]."

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[e] "Tertio, an leges civiles, et hujusmodi ab hominibus inventæ, quibus circa temporalia mundus regitur, valeant secundum Deum, quia scribitur, leges populorum vanæ sunt ?"—Gerdesii Historia, tom. ii. p. 407.

[f] "Inter nos nemo ducit uxorem, tamen ut verum fatear, tecum enim cum multâ fiduciâ omnia loquor, non semper castè nobiscum agitur."—Gerdesii Historia, tom. ii. p. 404.

The perils to which the Protestants of Provence were at this time exposed, will palliate, if they cannot justify, the compliance which is here complained of; and as the persecution of Francis I. which took place shortly afterwards, was the most dreadful, and fatal to its interests, which the Waldensian church in France ever experienced, after that of the Albigenses, by Simon de Montford, I shall not consider it a digression to enter into a short detail of it, particularly as its terrible effects could not fail to reach the valleys of Perosa and Lucerna, part of which were then subject to the French crown.

It must be humiliating to those, who would place dependence in what are called the nobler and more heroic traits of human nature, to reflect that the gallant and chivalrous Francis I. consented to sacrifice some of his most unoffending subjects to the bigotry of his confessor. So far from treading in the steps of his predecessor, Lewis XII. who resisted every attempt that was made to prejudice his mind against men, whose only crime was heresy, and who began his reign with having a gold coin struck, with a motto on the reverse, which made the proud pontiff, Julius II. tremble on his papal chair, " Perdam Babylonis nomen,"—"I will blot out the name of Babylon," so far from displaying a generous spirit like this, Francis submitted to be controlled by the Pope's nuntio, and put his signature to an edict, which threatened the total extinction of the Protestant cause, throughout the whole of his dominions. It enacted, that every dissentient from the holy mother church should acknowledge his errors, and obtain reconciliation within a stated period, under the severest penalties in case of disobedience, and because Merindol was considered to be the principal seat of the heresy, that devoted city was ordered to be razed to the ground. With a species of the most refined cruelty, the edict added, that all the caverns, hiding places, cellars, and vaults, in the vicinity of the town should be carefully examined, and destroyed, that the woods should be cut down, and all the gardens and orchards laid waste, and that none who had ever possessed a house or property in Merindol, or within a certain distance, should ever occupy it again, either in his own person, or in that of any of his name or family, in order that the memory of the excommunicated sect might be utterly wiped away from the province, and the place be made a desert. This horrible decree was put into execution by an armed force, without the least mercy or forbearance; the wretched inhabitants fled *en masse*, and because they refused to surrender themselves at discretion, the commander of the troops which marched against Merindol, threatened death, without trial or appeal, to every one who should render them the least assistance. Nothing ever exceeded the dreadful scenes which followed. Two or three facts will suffice for the whole. An helpless multitude of aged men, women, and children, pursued their flight, rather as chance directed them, than with any certain destination, while such as were armed, and had youth and strength on their side, made a feeble shew of protecting their retreat. Before they could reach the mountain-passes, where there might have been some chance of making a successful defence, the enemy came up, and soon routed this inefficient rear guard. During the conflict, the main body of the fugitives took refuge in a wood: they did not expect to escape observation, but hoped that their defenceless condition would soften the hearts of their pursuers. But what mercy was ever shewn by persons impelled by religious hatred? Not one was left alive of that wretched multitude.

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[g] " Audimus quod metu persecutionum fidem vestram ita dissimuletis, et occultam habeatis, ut etiam communicetis cum infidelibus, et accedatis ad abominabiles illorum Missas.—Si licet sub Antichristo fidem occultare, licebit etiam cum Turca, licebit etiam cum Diocletiano ad aras Jovis, vel Veneris adorare."—GERDESII HISTORIA, tom. ii. p. 411, 412.

At Cabriere the same atrocities were committed. It was taken by storm, and every living creature was put to the sword. At another place, four hundred women thought to find an asylum, in a building which had been used as a place of worship. It was set on fire, and as the poor creatures endeavoured to escape from the doors and windows, the soldiers butchered, in cold blood, those whom the flames had spared. It was in this manner that plunder, carnage, and violation, were spread from one end of Provence to another; Dauphiné and Languedoc experienced nearly the same horrors, and few were the Protestants who were spared, and fewer those who had the courage to acknowledge that they belonged to the proscribed party. There was, however, one illustrious champion left, whose name ought not to be forgotten, and while others of more questionable merit are suffered to occupy a place among saints and martyrs, Aymond de la Voye ought at least to have honourable mention in these pages. This brave and pious man boldly went from village to village, to confirm the wavering, and re-assure the hopeless, until at length he exposed himself to suspicion, and was carried before a tribunal, which was sitting for the condemnation of heretics. The first question that was put to him was intended to draw forth a disclosure, that would lead to the apprehension of others.

Who are your associates?

My associates are those, who know and do the will of my Heavenly Father, whether they be nobles, merchants, peasants, or men of any other condition.

He was asked, who is the head of the church?

Jesus Christ.

Is not the Pope the head of the church?

No: if he is a good man, he is the minister and primate of the Roman church, but nothing more.

Is not the Pope the successor of St. Peter?

Yes, if he be like St. Peter, but not else.

His persecutors saw that he was not to be moved, and ordered him to be led to execution. As he passed by an image of the Virgin Mary, he refused to salute it; and the execrations of an infuriated mob had no other effect upon him, than to make him pray aloud, "Oh, Lord, I beseech thee, to make it known to these deluded creatures, that it is to thee only they are to bow the head, and offer supplications." As he mounted the scaffold, he cried out with a firm voice, "Be it known that I do not die a heretic, but a Christian." The clamorous multitude insisted that his voice should be stopped; and before the executioner had inflicted the tortures usual upon these occasions, an end was ordered to be put to his existence, because there was no other way of silencing the undaunted Aymond de la Voye, whom even prolonged suffering could not intimidate.

While the Provençal Waldenses were exposed to enormities like these, which were meant to extinguish the light of the Protestant faith on the western side of the Alps, their brethren the Vaudois of Piemont were illustrating the truth of their motto, "Lux lucet in tenebris,"—"The light shines in darkness," in a most extraordinary manner. The sanguinary proceedings in France put them upon their guard; they expected that a similar attack would be made upon themselves, and precautions were taken against it. The passes and defiles that led into their valleys, were put in a state of defence, preparations were made to retire behind their natural fastnesses upon the first alarm: the barbes were more active than ever in fortifying the minds of their flocks, the young people and children were instructed and catechized with the minutest care, and the villages and hamlets bore the aspect of being soon to be deserted. Strange to say, it now became the turn for their tyrants to express dismay. The lords of the soil were apprehensive that their lands would be abandoned by the cultivators; the princes of the house of Savoy were fearful of losing the taxes and services of a loyal and industrious community; and, for the first time in the history of the Vaudois, their sovereign offered to make certain concessions, which should secure to them the free exercise of their religion, upon the compliance of conditions, which were far from being disadvantageous or dishonourable.

These events took place about the middle of the sixteenth century, and though the concessions which were then grantod have been again and again violated, and recourse has been had to arms, from time to time, to secure their liberty of conscience, and political existence, yet have the Vaudois continued to obey the government of their country in all that relates to temporal matters, with the most scrupulous fidelity, but without sacrificing one iota of their spiritual integrity. They present the rare spectacle of a small community maintaining its religious independence in the midst of enemies; and of enemies, according to all human calculation, both able and desirous of compelling them to conform, but, " where is the fury of the oppressor ?" They occupy a mountain district, which is scarcely known by name, even to those who take an interest in exploring remote corners, and in making researches among people, whose manners and character have been but imperfectly investigated; and yet, from this secluded spot, have they disseminated doctrines, whose influence is vitally felt over the most refined and civilized part of Europe. They occupy the same villages and hamlets, follow the same pastoral occupations, speak the same language, have the same patriarchal habits, and simple virtues, and retain the same religion, which was known to exist there more than a thousand years ago. They profess to constitute the remains of the pure and primitive Christian church, and those who would question their claims cannot shew, either by history or tradition, that they ever subscribed to the Popish rituals, or bowed before any of the idols of the Roman church. Their enemies say of them, that heresy always existed in their valleys, which is the strongest confirmation of their pretensions, and whereas some positive date can be assigned to the period, when other Protestant states became reformed, there is no evidence to prove, that Reformation ever took place among them. They have seldom been free from persecution, or vexatious and intolerant oppression, and yet nothing could ever induce them to conform, even outwardly, with the religion of the state.

There is nothing extravagant in their religious opinions: there is nothing in their institutions, in their intercourse with each other, in their views of Scriptural promises, which is likely to feed or stimulate enthusiasm in such a degree, as to account for their adherence to the faith of their fathers by any common mode of human reasoning. Every thing goes on evenly and quietly among them, the clergy perform their pastoral duty faithfully and zealously, not because celebrity, reward, promotion, or popularity, is likely to recompense their exertions, but because they act from principle, and upon sober and rational grounds of piety.

In short there is no other way of explaining the political, moral, and religious phenomenon, which the Vaudois have continued to display for so many centuries, than by ascribing it to the manifest interposition of Providence, which has chosen in them "the weak things of this world, to confound the things that are mighty:" and not for all the attractions which any other route could have offered, would I have lost the opportunity of visiting these worthy descendants of the Waldenses, on the spot of their original settlements. The excursion has been rewarded with a higher degree of satisfaction, than even that, which is derived from exploring scenes, that have been hallowed by the footsteps of the good and the brave, and in comparing the grand localities of a country, where heroic achievements have been wrought, with the magnificent and impregnable mountain fastnesses, that the imagination has depictured. The principal interest consists in having had the means of observing how far the posterity of men, who occupied so eminent a place in history, assimilate with their ancestors in those estimable qualities, which assigned them an imperishable name in the annals of the Reformation. It consists in being able to declare, with perfect truth, after tracing habits, manners, and peculiarities of domestic life, which identify the Vaudois of the present day, with the veritable representatives, in kin and character, of the Waldenses of earliest times, that the Protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, have the same claims to attention, which distinguished the ancient members of their church, and so often excited the admiration and sympathy of the Protestant states of Europe.

# CONCLUSION.

Since my return to England, I have had several communications with persons of elevated situation, and high influence, both in the Government, and in the Church, upon the claims of the Vaudois to the pension, which was suspended in the year 1797, in consequence of the occupation of Piemont by the French; and it is in justice to the feelings which are entertained upon this subject, and to the exertions which have been made, by those who might be expected to promote the cause of this injured people, that I make this statement.

In the several interviews, with which I have been honoured by the parties to whom I allude, I have invariably found that kind and patient attention, which promises that the matter will be thoroughly investigated; and for which, I wish I were at liberty to express myself in plainer terms of grateful admiration.

A reference to what has been detailed in these pages, on the subject of the royal pension[g], will shew that the Vaudois do not merely ask for the restitution of it, as a benefaction, but as a stipend, to which they think they have the same just and equitable title, as to that which is still paid to them by "the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The one originated in the national collection made in the year 1768, and the other in that of 1655: and though there may be no existing deeds, to shew the particulars of the investment of the monies, which Charles the Second seized; yet the fact of the pension having been renewed in the reign of William and Mary, and continued for more than a hundred years afterwards, must be regarded as some evidence of the existence of a claim [h].

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[g] See pages 88, 89, 90. 218; and Appendix, No. 12.

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[h] Since the greater part of this work went to press, I have been favoured, by the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with the following copy of the minutes of the Society, dated so far back as January 15, 1795. It will correct a mistake made in p. 85, relative to the amount of the stipend paid annually by the Society to each of the Vaudois clergy, and may serve to throw some further light upon the nature of the further claim, which the Vaudois have upon this country. Whether it be founded on the "bounty of 500*l.* per annum, left by Queen Mary," or on the surplus of the collection of 1655, "put out to interest in sure hands," their title to the royal pension remains the same, if either of the statements be correct.

"VAUDOIS COMMITTEE.

"It was reported,

"That Queen Mary left a bounty of five hundred pounds per annum, for the maintenance of the Vaudois pastors in Piemont.

"That of this sum, 140*l.* more or less is sent to the Vaudois at Wirtemburgh, in Germany; and that, upon an average, the Vaudois of Piemont receive only 266*l.* per annum of that bounty; that formerly they received 385*l.* The cause of the variation is not known to the Committee.

"That from this sum of 266*l.* they deduct 5*l.* for each superannuated minister, generally two or three; and 14*l.* more are deducted for sundry expences of synods, journeys for public affairs, and visitations, by which the sum is reduced to 237*l.* This is equally divided, with some trifling difference, in favour of those parishes which are the worst.

"That it appears, from the best calculation that can be made, allowing for exchanges from London to Turin, that each minister, being thirteen in number, receives for salary,

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|---|---|
| From the royal bounty | 18*l.* |
| From the Society | 17*l.* |
| | 35*l.* per ann. |

But even allowing that nothing in the shape of a claim can be established by the Vaudois, for the restitution of the royal pension, yet surely it must be acknowledged, that the reasons for renewing it as a benefaction exist in as much force as ever, and that the same motives, which induced the English government to extend pecuniary assistance to the Waldensian clergy, for more than a hundred years, might be permitted to operate in their favour now.

They are as poor and as aggrieved as they were previous to the year in which the pension ceased. They are as quiet and as unoffending, and as submissive to the constituted authorities of their country, as when the King of Sardinia declared, in June 1794, that he had not more loyal subjects than themselves. Be it remembered too, that in the late attempt at revolution, in the Sardinian dominions, the Vaudois took no measures which could excite the slightest jealousy on the part of their Sovereign.

They are so far from being apostates, or unfaithful to the cause which recommended their fathers to the protection of England, that they have preserved their integrity, unsullied and unimpaired, in the midst of greater seductions, if not greater perils, than ever threatened the constancy of the ancient Waldenses.

They are esteemed so deserving of notice by other Protestant sovereigns and states, that the Emperor Alexander, and the Kings of Prussia and of the Netherlands, have very lately exerted their kind offices, and extended their royal bounty, by remonstrances in their behalf, and grants of money for their relief.

“ Some of the parishes may contribute about 120 livres of that country, 6*l.* sterling, towards the maintenance of the minister; but this is not always the case.

“ Upon this report, it was agreed to make an addition of 3*l.* sterling per annum to each of the thirteen ministers; and since that period they have regularly drawn on the treasurer of the Society for the amount of these salaries, and certain annual stipends for the widows of the deceased ministers, to the extent of 32*l.* in addition, making in the whole 292*l.*”

It cannot then be apprehended that this country will now neglect a community, which has been so supported by us in former years, when the same reasons still exist for holding them in estimation, viz. respect for the cradle of the reformed churches, respect for the descendants of the men, to whom we are indebted for our religious doctrines, and respect for the people themselves, whose faith hath failed not, under persecution, want, or sufferings. There is a solemn bond of justice and gratitude incurred by us, which we cannot be unwilling to redeem: and when it is considered, that there never was a period in English history, when the interests of humanity and true religion, were more consulted, than by those who guide the counsels of the nation at this present time, it is not possible to be otherwise than sanguine in expecting, that the claims of the Vaudois, if they are proved to be founded in equity and justice, will be amply recognized[i].

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[i] I am happy to find that this Narrative is likely to be followed by a work, which will elucidate still more completely some of the subjects, to which I have endeavoured to attract attention. The Rev. Thomas Sims, who has been exploring the villages and hamlets of the Vaudois, since my excursion, has brought to England a large and valuable collection of papers, which were committed to his charge, by the family of the late lamented moderator, Rodolphe Peyrani. These manuscripts comprize many unpublished compositions of that learned pastor, which appear to be of the most interesting nature. They are upon various topics, chiefly theological; but some of them contain critiques and observations upon the Greek Drama. Those, of which I have been favoured with a sight, more than confirm the high opinion, which my short interview with Peyrani enabled me to form of his extraordinary talents, and variety of information. When a selection can be made, it is proposed to publish them, for the benefit of his destitute family. How melancholy to reflect, that a man of such uncommon erudition and endowments, as the late pastor of Pomaretto, should have left behind him such a mass of valuable materials, which the poverty and obscurity, to which he was consigned, prevented his committing to the press!

# APPENDIX.

# APPENDIX.

## N°. I.

*Notice of Publications relating to the Vaudois during the three last Centuries.*

WITH the intention of directing the reader to those sources of information, from which the Author has derived much of his own knowledge of the interesting people, who form the subject of the present Narrative, a list is subjoined, and with it a brief description, of the books, that have been consulted upon the occasion.

A hasty or partial review of some of these authorities, might lead to conclusions, as to the antiquity of the Waldensian church, different from those, which are drawn in the preceding pages ; but no fears are entertained in regard to the opinions of such, as have opportunity and patience to pursue the investigation thoroughly.

1. " Histoire Generale des Eglises Evangeliques des Vallées de Piemonte, ou Vaudoises, divisée en deux livres. Dont le premier fait voir incontestablement, quelle a esté de tous tems, tant leur discipline que sur tout leur doctrine, et quelle maniere elles l'ont si constamment conservée en une si grande puretè, dès que Dieu les a tirées, des tenebres du Paganisme jusque à present, sans interruption, et necessitè de Reformation. Et le second traite generalement de toutes les plus considerables persecutions, qu'elles ont suffertes, pour la soûtenir, sur tout dès que l'inquisition a commencè a regner sur les Chrêtiens, jusqu' à l'an 1664.

" Par Jean Leger, Pasteur et Moderateur des Eglises des Vallées, et depuis la violence de la persecution appellè à l'eglise Wallone de Leyde. Le tout enrichi de tailles douces.

" A Leyde, chez Jean le Carpentier. 1669."

This work is in folio, and by far the most complete history of the ancient Vaudois, that is extant; but it is very scarce. There are 212 closely printed pages in the first part, and 385 in the second. The map, which accompanies it, is upon a large scale, and very correct, except that some of the places have the Italian, and others the French names, or terminations.

2. " Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises reformées recuillies en quelques Vallées de Piemonte, et circonuoisines, autrefois appelées Eglises Vaudoises, commençant dès l'an 1160 de nostre Seigneur, et finissant en l'an mil six cents quarante trois.

" Par Pierre Gilles, Pasteur de l'Eglise Reformée de la Tour.

" A Geneva, pour Jean de Tournes, imprimeur ordinaire de la Republique et Academie. 1664. pp. 569."

This is by no means so valuable a work as that of Leger. Its information, upon the subject of the early history of the Vaudois, is often incorrect. It occupies sixty-one chapters, of which the three first treat of the doctrine and discipline of the Vaudois; the fourth, of the persecution of the fifteenth century; the fifth, of the reformed churches in Germany, and the remainder, of the persecutions of the Vaudois, between the years 1533 and 1642.

It contains scarcely any thing of importance, which is not to be found in Leger's folio volume.

3. " The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemonte; containing a most geographical Description of the Place, and a faithful Account of the Doctrine, Life, and Persecutions of the ancient Inhabitants: together with a most naked and punctual Relation of the late bloudy Massacre in 1655, and a Narrative of all the Transactions, to the Year of our Lord 1658. All which are justified partly by divers ancient Manuscripts, written many hundred Years before Calvin and Luther; and partly by other most authentic Attestations, the true Originals of the great part whereof are to be seen in their

proper Languages by all the curious, in the public Library of the famous University of Cambridge.

"Collected and compiled, with much pains and industry, by Samuel Morland, Esquire, during his abode in Geneva, in quality of his Highness Commissioner Extraordinary for the affairs of the said Valleys, and particularly for the distribution of the collected moneys among the remnant of these poor distressed people. London. 1658. Folio. pp. 705."

This work is as valuable as that of Leger, and will supply the English reader with almost all the information contained in the French of the latter. Morland was Envoy from the Protector Cromwell to the court of Savoy, in 1655.

4. "Some Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the ancient Churches of Piedmont. By Peter Allix, D.D." Octavo. pp. 361.

This very recondite work was originally printed in 1690, and reprinted at Oxford in 1821. It contains some most interesting and learned researches into the early history of the Waldensian church; and its authority may generally be relied upon. In fact, it is almost the only volume, which grapples with the subject of the remote antiquity of the Vaudois, in a masterly way.

5. "The History of the Vaudois: wherein is shewn their original: how God has preserved the Christian Religion among them in its Purity, from the time of the Apostles, to our Days: the Wonders he has done for their Preservation, with the signal and miraculous Victories that they have gained over their Enemies: how they were dispersed, and their Churches ruined; and how, at last, they were re-established beyond the Expectation and Hope of all the World.

"By Peter Boyer, a Minister of the Gospel. Dedicated to the King of England; and now translated out of the French, by a Person of Quality. London. 1692."

This is a small volume, of 250 pages, and is principally an abridgement from other works; but it is curious, as being a continuation of Morland's and Leger's Histories, from 1658 to 1691.

6. "Histoire de la Glorieuse Rentrée des Vaudois dans leur Vallées, ou l'on voit une troupe de ces gens, qui n'a jamais été jusqu'à mile

personnes, soûtenir la Guerre contre le roi de France, et contre S.A.R. le duc de Savoye : faire tête à leur armée de 22,000 hommes, s'ovrir le passage par la Savoye, et par le haut Dauphiné, batre plusieurs fois les ennemis, et en fin miraculeusement rentrer dans ses heritages, s'y maintenir les armes à la main, et y retablir le culte de Dieu qui en avoit été interdit depuis trois ans et demi.

" Par Henri Arnaud, Pasteur et Colonel des Vaudois, 1710."

Dedicated to Queen Anne.

The Author has not been able to procure a sight of this very rare, curious, and entertaining work since his return to England, except at the British Museum, notwithstanding some very diligent searches for it in libraries and bookshops, nor does he think a copy of it is to be bought. He was equally unsuccessful in Switzerland, and met with it no where but at the public library at Geneva, the directors of which had the goodness to lend it to him for several days. He took the opportunity of making copious extracts, with which he has enriched his own volume.

7. " Histoire de la Negociation des Ambassadeurs envoyès au duc de Savoy, par les Cantons Evangeliques, 1686. Geneva, 1690."

For a sight of this little tract, the Author was also indebted to the library of Geneva, and obtained much information from it, relative to the oppressive proceedings of Victor Amadeus the Second, against his Vaudois subjects, in 1686.

A copy of it may be seen at the British Museum.

8. " History of the Waldenses, connected with a Sketch of the Christian Church, from the Birth of Christ to the eighteenth Century. By William Jones. London. 1812. Octavo. pp. 576."

This volume does not enter upon the subject of the Vaudois till the 319th page, and carries their history no farther than the year 1686.

9. " Histoire des Vaudois divisée en trois parties.

" La premiere est de leur origine, pure croyance, et persecutions, qu'ils ont souffert par toute l'Europe, par l'espace de plus de quatre cens cinquante ans.

" La seconde contient l'histoire des Vaudois appelles Albigenses.

" La troisieme est touchant la doctrine, et discipline qu'ils ont eu commune entre eux, et la refutation de la doctrine de leurs adversaires.

" Par Jean Paul Perrin. Lionnois. 1619."

Perrin was a native of Lyons, and as such, anxious to establish the erroneous opinion, that Peter Waldo was the founder of the Waldensian church. His history relates more to the refugee Waldenses, and their descendants, than to the native Vaudois of Piemont.

10. Mosheim is far from being correct in his account of the Church of the Vaudois.

11. Milner's account of the Waldenses, in his third volume of " The History of the Church of Christ," is principally compiled from Perrin and Allix, and forms a correct and interesting relation up to the middle of the sixteenth century.

12. Usher, in the sixth and eighth chapters of his very learned treatise, " De successione et statu Ecclesiarum Christianarum," Newton, in the latter part of his " Dissertations on the Prophecies," and Thuanus the historian, will be found to bear honorable testimony to the undaunted courage, and purity of life and conversation displayed by the Vaudois, at different periods of their history.

13. " Gerderii Historia Reformationis," (4 vols. 4to.) contains some interesting particulars respecting the Waldenses, and their communications with the early Reformers; but the Author had not an opportunity of consulting it, till after the greater part of his work had gone to press. It was then pointed out to him by the kindness of the Bishop of London, who is deeply read, and warmly interested, in all that relates to this extraordinary community.

The only publications, with which the Author is acquainted, that have brought down the history of the Vaudois to a late period, are,

1. " A brief Memoir respecting the Waldenses, or Vaudois, Inhabitants of the Vallies of Piedmont, the Result of Observations made during a short Residence amongst that interesting People, in the Autumn of 1814. By a Clergyman of the Church of England." London. Hatchard. 1815. pp. 42.

This little treatise is, as it professes to be, very brief, and occupies only forty-two pages, but the information it gives is accurate, and it excites a strong desire to know more of the subjects of the memoir.

2. " Brief Observations on the present State of the Waldenses, and upon their actual Sufferings: made in the Summer of 1820." By Gorges Lowther, Esq. London. 1821.

Mr. Lowther's pamphlet contains about fifty pages, and has been translated by himself into Italian. It is an uncommonly spirited production, to which the Author of this Narrative is indebted for some valuable facts, and he is glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging other assistance which has been rendered to him by that gentleman, in the progress of his work. The statements, in Mr. Lowther's memoir, form the principal materials of a small French pamphlet of thirty-one pages, published at Paris, in 1822, under the title of

3. " Notice sur l'Etat actuel des Eglises Vaudoises, Protestantes des Vallées du Piemont."

The editor of this treatise professes to have had some help from " un rapport officiel redige par plusieurs notables Vaudois sur les lieux mêmes, et presenté en Angleterre aux ministres des trois dénominations des dissenters," and published in London, in 1816, as a " Sketch of the past and present State of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, inhabiting the Valleys of Piedmont, translated from the original Italian Manuscript."

The last publication, which it is thought necessary to notice, is,

4. " A Sermon preached to the English Congregation assembled at Rome, on Sunday, April 6, 1823, for the Benefit of the Primitive Church of the Vaudois, or ancient Albigenses and Waldenses. By the Rev. Lewis Way, A.M., Minister of the Episcopal Protestant Chapel at Nice. Second Edition. With an Appendix." Hatchard. 1823.

The extraordinary feature of this sermon is, that it should have been preached at ROME; the very place from which first issued the bulls and anathemas against the Vaudois; and the fact is a strong argument in confirmation of Mr. Way's favourite hypothesis, that " persecution is on the decline." It would be hailed with transport, if all the Roman Catholic Sovereigns would imitate the enlightened policy of the late most amiable Pope Pius VII., and his liberal-minded and excellent minister, the Cardinal Consalvi: both of whom, *unfortunately* for the States of the Church, are now no more.

## N°. II.

THE following is a list of the principal Waldensian manuscripts collected by Sir Samuel Morland, during his abode in Piemont, as Envoy to the court of Turin; and presented by him, upon his return to England, to the public library of the University of Cambridge, in 1658.

Sir Samuel was aware of the existence of these manuscripts before he set out upon his mission; but in his "History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont," he confesses himself principally indebted to Archbishop Usher, for drawing his attention to them. "The late Lord Primate of Ireland, some days before my setting out for Savoy, sent for me on purpose to his chamber, and there gave me a very serious and strict charge, to use my utmost diligence in the enquiry after, and to spare no cost in the purchase of all those manuscripts, and authentic pieces, which might give any light into the ancient doctrine and discipline of those churches: adding, that there was nothing in the world, he was more curious and impatient to know, as being a point of exceeding great weight and moment, for stopping the mouths of our Popish adversaries, and discovering the footsteps of our religion, in those dark intervals of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. This serious injunction of that reverend and worthy man, together with mine own real inclinations, caused me to leave no stone unturned, nor to lose any opportunity, during my abode in those parts, for the real effecting this thing; and though the Pope's emissaries had already gathered the more choice clusters, and first ripe fruits; yet I met at least with the grape gleanings of the vintage; I mean, divers pieces of antiquity, some whereof had been a long time buried under dust and rubbish; others had been scattered about in the valleys, some here, some there, in desert and obscure places; and, without a singular Providence, had never come to light." P. 94.

In another part of his work, (p. 9), Sir Samuel makes the following observations, to prove the genuineness of the manuscripts.

" These manuscripts are not only made mention of by that famous and learned Mr. Paul Perrin, in his History *Des Vaudois;* but likewise averred by Mr. Tronchin, the chief minister of Geneva, a person of known probity and learning, whose formal attestation is here inserted.

" I, whose name is here under-written, Minister of the Holy Gospel, and Divinity Professor at Geneva, do attest, that Sieur Jean Paul Perrin, coming into this city, to print the History of the Waldenses and Albigenses, by him compiled, did then communicate to me his work, and divers original manuscripts, out of which he had extracted the ancient doctrine and discipline of these people; which manuscripts I then saw, and perused. In faith whereof I have given this present attestation, to the end that it may serve and bear witness to the truth, when and wherever there shall be occasion.

" *Made at Geneva, Nov.* 19, 1656."

" Theo. Tronchin."

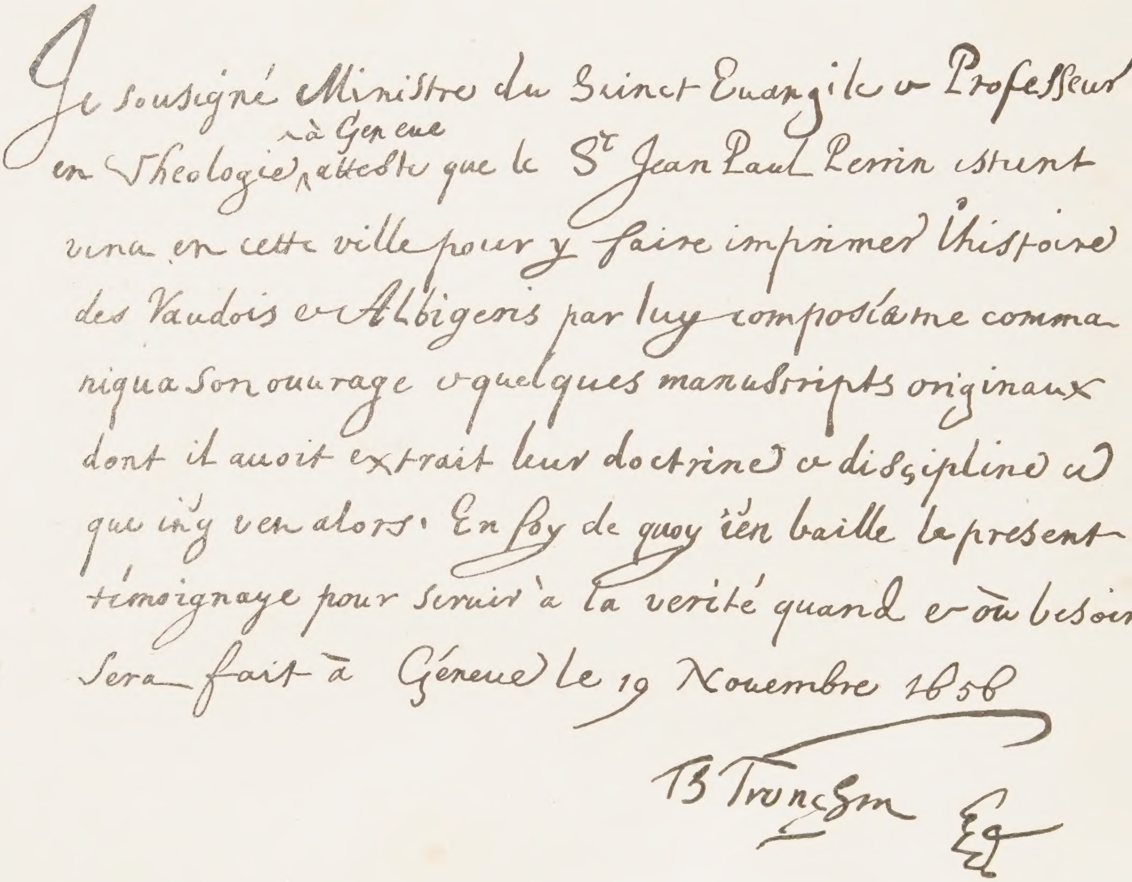
[See fac-simile in the annexed plate.]

The manuscripts are comprised in twenty-one volumes, each of which is marked with a letter of the alphabet, from A to W.

The volume marked with the letter A, contains in it the following treatises.

1. The History of the Creation and Deluge, written in the Waldensian Language.
2. An excellent Treatise of sundry profitable Instructions, which a Man ought to learn from the Nature of divers Animals.
3. Lo tracta di la pecca, or a Treatise of Sin, which is an allegorical and moral Explanation of the Beast described, Rev. xiii.
4. A Treatise of the Word of God, and the Power and Efficacy thereof; as also how it ought to be received; at the End whereof there is affixed the Date, either of the Work, or at least of the Copy of it, viz. A.D. 1230.
5. Several Latin Pieces, which are certain Rhapsodies concerning Priests and Friars.

*Fac-simile of the Attestation of M. Tronchin, taken from the Original M.S. deposited in the Library of the University of Cambridge.*



Je sousigné Ministre du Sainct Euangile & Professeur en Theologie à Geneue atteste que le Sr Jean Paul Perrin estant venu en cette ville pour y faire imprimer l'histoire des Vaudois & Albigeois par luy composée me communiqua son ouurage & quelques manuscripts originaux dont il auoit extrait leur doctrine & discipline & que i'ay veu alors. En foy de quoy i'en baille le present témoignage pour seruir à la verité quand & où besoin sera fait à Geneue le 19 Nouembre 1658

Th Tronchin

6. A Treatise against Tramettement, or Traditions and Ordinances of Men, as not consonant to the Holy Scriptures.

7. An Exhortation to Herman, to convert himself to God, and not to the Creatures.

8. Concerning Pharisaical Plantations, which the Father hath not planted, viz. the Orders and Sects of Monks, Franciscan Friars, Dominicans, and the like, which are not ordained by God.

9. A Latin Treatise, De Officiis Conjugum, Viri et Uxoris.

10. A Latin Treatise, De Symbolo Apostolico.

11. A Latin Treatise, De Ædificatione Urbium, Idololatriæ ortu et progressu, ejusque eversione per Evangelii predicationem.

12. A Latin Treatise, Quibus Modis peccatum fiat.

13. A Latin Treatise, De vera peccati purgatione.

14. A Latin Treatise, entitled, Uni Deo placere studeamus.

15. A Latin Treatise, entitled, Tres Veritates. 1. Doctrinæ. 2. Justitiæ. 3. Vitæ.

16. A Latin Treatise, entitled, Sola Dei Lege scripta definiri Fidei Controversias.

In the volume marked with the letter B, are contained the following Treatises, all written in that which is called the Waldensian language, in parchment, and that in a very ancient, but excellent character.

1. Glosa Pater, or the Explication of the Lord's Prayer.

2. Trecenas, or divers Passages of the Evangelists, and Epistles.

3. Doctor, that is, divers Sentences and Testimonies of the Fathers, touching Repentance.

4. Penas, or a Treatise concerning the Punishment of Sin.

5. Li Goy de Paradis, a Treatise concerning the Joys of Paradise.

6. An Epistle to all the Faithful.

7. A poem, entitled, Novel Comfort.

8. A poem, entitled, Novel Sermon, containing many wholesome Instructions to the People.

9. A poem, entitled, La Nobla Leyçon.

10. A poem, entitled, Pair Eternal.

11. A poem, entitled, Barca, concerning the Misery and Shortness of Man's Life, and his arriving at the Haven of Salvation.
12. An Explanation of the Ten Commandments.
13. An Explanation of the Articles of the Apostles' Creed.
14. A Treatise, concerning Vice, and mortal Sins.
15. A Treatise, concerning the seven Gifts of the Spirit, Isaiah xi.
16. A Treatise, concerning the three Theological, and the four Cardinal Virtues.
17. A Treatise, concerning the Goods of Fortune, Nature, and Grace.
18. A Treatise, concerning the six honourable Things in this World.
19. Several Sermons upon several Texts of Scripture; namely,
    1. A Sermon upon the second of Matthew, touching idle Words.
    2. A Sermon upon Ephes. iv. touching the putting on of the New Man.
    3. A Sermon, Del Fantin Jesus, or concerning the little Child Jesus, during his abode in Jerusalem, Luke ii.
    4. A Sermon, touching Christ's being tempted in the Desert, Matt. iv. and Luke iv.
    5. A Sermon upon Matt. viii. 25. Save us, or else we perish.
    6. A Sermon, touching the Rich Man, Luke xvi.
    7. A Sermon upon the sixth of John.
    8. A Sermon upon the Parable of the Sower, Matt. xiii.

In the volume marked with the letter C, are contained the following Treatises:

1. An Exhortation to confess our Sins one unto another, and unto God.
2. A Sermon, touching the Fear of the Lord.
3. A Sermon, touching the Accusation of Sinners before God, in Judgment.
4. A Treatise, touching Tribulations.
5. A Treatise, touching the Martyrdoms of the Maccabees, and others.
6. A Treatise concerning the Sufferings and Constancy of Job.
7. An Extract of the History of Tobias.

In the volume D, are many excellent and heavenly meditations, touching the miseries, tribulations, and shortness of this life; as likewise of repentance, good works, and the like; written in the language of the ancient inhabitants of the valleys, in parchment, but the letter almost worn out with age, which, according to many probable circumstances of the place and manner of its preservation, is judged to have been written at least six or seven hundred years ago.

In the volume marked E, are contained:

1. A Latin Grammar of the ancient Barbes, or Ministers.
2. The Proverbs of Solomon and Ecclesiastes.
3. A pious Piece of Poesy, in the Language of the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys.
4. A Treatise concerning the Love and Fear of God, and the manner of Life which Christians ought to live.
5. A Treatise of Morals, in Latin.
6. A Treatise of Arithmetic.

In the volume F, are collected and written in parchment, in that which is called the Waldensian language, of a very ancient, but fair and distinct character,

The Gospel of Matthew.
The first Chapter of Luke.
The Gospel of John.
The Acts of the Apostles.
The first Epistle to the Corinthians.
The Epistle to the Galatians.
The Epistle to the Ephesians.
The Epistle to the Philippians.
The first Epistle to the Thessalonians.
The second Epistle to Timothy.
The Epistle to Titus.
The eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews.
The first and second Epistle to Peter, but imperfect.

5. The Evangelical Cantons to the Duke of Savoy, the 6th of May, 1655.

6. The Duke of Savoy to the Evangelical Cantons, 13th of June, 1655.

7. The Evangelical Cantons to the Duke of Savoy, 17th of June, 1655.

8. Major Weis's Account of his first Negotiation in the Court of Savoy, in the behalf of the poor Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.

9. The Duke of Savoy to the Evangelical Cantons, received by their Ambassadors at Aigle, the 9-19th of June, 1655.

10. The Duke of Savoy to the Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, the 29th of July, 1655.

11. Major Weis's Account of his cold Reception in the Court of Savoy, upon his Intimation of the Evangelical Canton's Embassy, in the behalf of the above-said Exiles.

12. The first Proposition of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons to the Duke of Savoy, in the behalf of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys; together with the said Duke's Answer thereunto.

13. The first Relation of the Negotiation of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons in the Court of Savoy, bearing date the 1-11th of August, 1655.

14. The second Relation of the said Ambassadors, bearing date the 1-11th of August, 1655.

14. The second Relation of the said Ambassadors, bearing date the 9-19th of August, 1655.

15. Their third Relation, bearing date the 11-21st of August, 1655.

16. A Memorial given by the Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland to the Baron of Greisy, 16-26th August, 1655.

17. Their fourth and last Relation, bearing date the 21-31st of August, 1655.

18. The second Proposition of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons to his Royal Highness of Savoy, the 24th of August, 1655.

19. The Duke of Savoy's Answer to the Request of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, written in Italian, bearing Date the 6th of September, 1655.

20. The Baron of Greisy to the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, the 30th of August, 1655.

In the volume M, are contained the following manuscripts:

1. Marchio a Sancto Thoma's Letter to Mr. Morland, during his abode at Turin, bearing Date the 10th of July, 1655.

2. The said Marquess's Letter to the said Mr. Morland, the 17th of July, 1655.

3. A Letter from Major Weis to Mr. Morland, from Pignerol to Geneva, the 1-11th of August, 1655.

4. A second Letter from the said Major Weis to the said Mr. Morland, from Pignerol, the 9-19th of August, 1655.

5. A Letter from the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, to Mr. Morland, dated from Pignerol, the 9-19th of August, 1655.

6. A second Letter from the said Ambassadors to the said Mr. Morland, the 11-21st of August, 1655.

7. A third Letter from the above-said Ambassadors to the above-said Mr. Morland, dated from Turin, the 21-31st of August, 1655.

8. The Attestation of Thomas Guoit and Fra. Pra, concerning the eating of the Protestants' Brains, during the Heat of the Massacre.

9. The Attestation of Mr. Theo. Tronchin, of Geneva, concerning the Manuscripts mentioned in the History of Mr. Paul Perrin.

10. The Declaration of Mr. De Petit Bourg, first Captain of the Regiment of Grancè, touching the Cruelties, that were exercised upon Persons of all Ages and Sexes, among the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, subscribed with his own Hand, at Pignerol, the 27th of November, 1655, in the Presence of two other Commanders.

11. The Attestation of Mr. Andrew Schmidt, Under Secretary of State at Zurich, touching Ambassador Stockar, and his dissenting from the other three Ambassadors in the hastening of the Treaty of Pignerol, made at Geneva, the 17-27th of Sept. 1655.

In the volume N, are contained authentic copies of several excellent letters of consolation, from divers Protestant churches in other parts, to their poor afflicted brethren in the Valleys of Piemont.

In the volume O, are contained the following Edicts, all printed by the printers to their respective Highnesses, excepting only the court of Savoy's Factum and Reasons.

1. Several Edicts of Charles Emanuel, Christina, and Emanuel Philiberto, some against, others by way of Answer to the Petitions, and in Favour of their poor Protestant Subjects: namely, of
    1. Emanuel Philiberto, given at Vercelli, 1561.
    2. Carlo Emanuel, given at Turin, 1582.
    3. The Interination, at Turin, 30th May, 1585.
    4. Carlo Emanuel, 3d Jan. 1584.
    5. Carlo Emanuel, at Turin, 2d July, 1608.
    6. Carlo Emanuel, at Turin, 4th March, 1623.
    7. V. Amedeo, at Turin, 26th Feb. 1635.
    8. Christina, Duchess of Savoy, at Turin, 16th Jan. 1642.
    9. Christina, Duchess of Savoy, at Fassano, 17th Feb. 1644.
    10. Carlo Eman. at Turin, 30th June, 1649.
    11. Carlo Eman. 20th Feb. 1650.
    12. Carlo Eman. at Rivoli, 21st June, 1653.
2. The Court of Savoy's Factum in the Year 1655, in the Latin, Italian, and French Languages.
3. The Court of Savoy's Reasons for the Justice of the Order of Gastaldo, &c. in the Year 1655, in the Latin, Italian, and French Languages.
4. The Duke of Savoy's Patent, granted to the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, the 17th of August, 1655.

In the volume P, are contained the following manuscripts:

1. The Epistle of Scipio Lentulus to a Friend of his, concerning the Persecution of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys, in the Year 1561.

2. A full and solid Justification of a certain Book written in French, 1655, concerning the Persecution of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont; entitled, La Relation Veritable, &c.

3. A Manuscript, entitled, Brevis Refutatio Dissertationis de jure expellendi Religionem Evangelicam ex Italia et Sabaudia.

4. The Duke of Wirtenberg's Letter to the Duke of Savoy, in the behalf of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, the 14th of July, 1655.

5. The Prince Elector Palatine's Letter to the Duke of Savoy, upon the same Subject, the 14th of July, 1655.

6. The Grievances of the Treaty concluded at Pignerol, which was delivered into the Hands of Monsieur de Bais, to present to his Majesty of France.

7. The several congratulatory Letters, which were sent in the Names of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont, immediately upon the Conclusion of the Treaty at Pignerol; namely, to his Highness the Lord Protector, the States-General, &c.

8. Several sharp Letters from Ambassador Servient, Monsieur de Bais, &c. to the poor People of the Valleys, to make them accept and rest contented with the Treaty at Pignerol, together with their respective Answers.

9. The Reasons of the poor Protestants of the Valleys, offered to Ambassador Servient, the 21st of April, 1656, why they ought not to be debarred the Privilege of entertaining Foreign Ministers.

In the volume Q, are contained the following Manuscripts:

1. H. R. H. Order concerning the Tax due from his Protestant Subjects, for the Year 1655, after which follows a Copy of the Injunction. The first bearing Date the 26th of April, 1656, and the other the 6th of October, 1656.

2. The poor People's Reply, of the 5th of September, 1657, to the Marquess of Pianezza's Answer to one of theirs, sent them by Mr. de la Londe, bearing Date the 2d of August, 1657.

3. The humble Remonstrance of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Lucerna, &c. to Madame Royale, the 20th of August, 1657, concerning the Grievances of the Treaty made at Pignerol.

4. An humble Remonstrance of the poor People of the Valleys of Piemont, professing the Reformed Religion, which they put into the Hands of M. de la Londe, to present to his Majesty of France, in August, 1657, concerning the Grievances of the Treaty at Pignerol.

5. The humble Reply of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Lucerna, &c. to a Paper sent them from Madame Royale, through the Hands of Monsieur de la Londe, upon the 2d of August, 1657, bearing Date the 5th of October, 1657.

6. The humble Supplication of the poor People of the Valleys to the Duke of Savoy, together with the Duke's Answer, at Turin, the 6th October, 1657.

7. The poor People's Request, the 26th of October, 1657.

8. A Letter from the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, to Ambassador Servient, Count Truchi, and the Baron de Greisy, in Favour of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, the 30th of November, 1657.

9. An Order of Andrea Gastaldo, the 20th of December, 1657, summoning the poor People to Turin, for having public Exercises of their Religion at San Giovanni.

10. Another Order of And. Gastaldo, &c. in the same Month, summoning those of the poor People who refused to sell their Possessions, to appear before him at Lucerna, under Pain of being proceeded against as contumacious, &c.

11. The poor People's Letter to Ambassador Servient, the 28th of December, 1657.

12. The poor People's Supplication to H. R. H. of the 28th of December, 1657.

13. The poor People's Supplication to H. R. H. together with his said R. H. Answer thereunto, given at Turin, the 25th of Jan. 1658.

In the volume R, are contained the following Manuscripts:

1. An ancient Italian Manuscript, entitled, Historia breve e vera de gl'Affari de' Valdesi delle Valli.

2. A brief Confession of Faith, published by the Reformed Churches of Piemont, A.D. 1655.

3. The Sentence of the Arbitrators and Judges Catholic, of the two Cities of Friburg, and Soleure, (in High Dutch and French) given at Olten, the 30th of Jan. 1657.

The volume S, is the French Bible, printed by the people of the Valleys, at Neufchatel, in June, A. D. 1535, mentioned in the first book, and third chapter of the following History.

In the volume T, are contained the rest of those original pieces, which are mentioned in the following History of the Evangelical Churches, which yet are not specified in the foregoing catalogue, nor in that black box, hereafter mentioned, marked X.

In the volume V, are contained the following Manuscripts:

1. A brief but exact Relation, in English, of the Occasion and Grounds of the late War in Switzerland, between the Protestant and the Catholic Cantons, bearing Date the 14th of Dec. 1655.

2. A full History, written in the French Tongue, of all Passages and Transactions between the Evangelical, and the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, in Relation to the Nicodemites, or poor Exiles of the Cantons of Switz; compiled, with much Pains and Industry, by Sam. Morland, Esq. during his Abode at Geneva, the which History consists of the following Parts or Branches:

    1. The Beginning of the Troubles in Switzerland, in the Year 1655, upon Account of Religion, with their several Assemblies upon that Occasion.
    2. The Rupture.
    3. The Effects of the said Rupture.
    4. The Peace concluded at Baden, the 26th of Feb. and 7th of March, 1656.

In the volume W, are contained the following authentic High Dutch Manuscripts, for the justification of the above-said History, concerning the differences in Switzerland, about the poor Exiles of Switz, &c. All signed by Mr. Andrew Schmidt, Under Secretary of Zurich.

1. Their Citation, in September, 1655.

2. The Nicodemite's Letter to those of Switz, written from Zurich, the 15th of September, 1655.

3. A Letter from the Canton of Zurich to those of Switz, in favour of the said Nicodemites, the 15th of September, 1655.

4. A Letter from the Nicodemites of Arth to the Canton of Switz, the 24th of September, 1655.

5. A Letter from the Canton of Zurich to that of Switz, the 24th of September, 1655.

6. The Answer of the Canton of Switz to that of Zurich, the 27th of September, 1655.

7. A Letter from Zurich to that of Switz, and the other four Catholic Cantons, the 28th of September, 1655.

8. A brief Description of those Persons who were cruelly executed and put to Death for the Truth, at Switz, in November, in the Year 1655.

9. A Letter from the Canton of Bern to those of Switz, the 13th of October, 1655.

10. The Proposition, sent in writing, to those of Switz, by the Hands of the Deputies of the Evangelical Cantons.

11. The Answer of the Council of Switz, to the above-said Proposition of the Evangelical Cantons.

12. The Answer of those of Switz to Messieurs de Beon, the 27th of October, 1655.

13. A Deposition of Articles of those of Art, touching their Confession of Faith. Which are concerning,

    1. The Holy Scriptures.
    2. Divine Service and Invocation.
    3. The Worship of Saints, and particularly of the Virgin Mary.
    4. Justification.
    5. Good Works.
    6. The Sacrifice of Reconciliation.
    7. The Mass.
    8. The Bread and Wine in the Lord's Supper, and so of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.

9. Baptism; and therein, 1. Who ought to Baptize? 2. Who ought to be Baptized?
10. Salvation of Infants.
11. Purgatory.
12. Confession of Sin.
13. Peter's Keys.
14. Fasts.
15. Pilgrimages.
16. Marriage.
17. Images.
18. The Tenets of Anabaptists.
19. Lawful Oaths.
20. The Office of the Magistrate.
21. The Office of the Minister.
22. The Lawfulness of War.

14. Copy of the Memorial of the Nicodemites of Switz, touching their coming out of Babylon, in the Year 1655.

In the black box, marked X, are contained the several printed tickets and other papers and pictures, which were found in the pockets of some of the soldiers in Piemont, who had before massacred the Protestants: namely,

In the paper A, are several forms of blessing, consecrated to be carried about them, for preservation. As, for example:

1. Potentia Dei Patris, Sapientia Dei Filii, Virtus Spiritus Sancti, per intercessionem Sanctissimæ Virginis Dei genitricis Mariæ, Sancti Francisci, et Beatorum Didacis, et Salvatoris liberet te Dominus ab omni Febre, Peste, et improvisâ morte. Amen.

2. Facite homines discumbere, ex Cathed. Casalens. 1649.

3. Est puer unus hic, ex Cathed. Casalens. 1648.

In the paper B, is a certain powder, which they call Latte della Madonna; or, the Milk of the Virgin Mary.

In the papers C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, are enclosed small pieces of the dead bones of several martyrs, &c. with the following inscriptions on the outside of the papers.

C, Sancti Justini.
D, Sancti Lucii Eremitæ.
E, Sancti Dindari Martyris.
F, Sancti Blasii Episcopi Martyris.
G, Sancti Antonii Abbatis.
H, Sancti Antonii Martyris.
I, Sancti Pancratii.
K, De la Sancta Sepulcra.

In the paper L, are the pictures of several saints, as also of Christ and the Virgin Mary, among which there is one remarkable, whereof the title or superscription is, PRO CONVERSIONE HÆRETICORUM; all painted in a bloody colour.

Besides these papers and tickets, there are, in the said black box, these original pieces:

1. The Marquess of Pianezza's Grant of Indemnity, and divers Privileges, to a certain Person for renouncing his Religion.

2. The Certificate of Prospero da Tarano, delivered to the Marquess of Pianezza, that the person abovesaid had certainly abjured his Religion.

The Author regrets to state that the seven first volumes, from A to G, and the box of papers, have been stolen from the University Library, and, as he believes, within the last fifty years, but, fortunately, transcripts of *La Nobla Leyçon,* and some others of the more valuable papers and parchments, are preserved in Morland's and Leger's History.

The Noble Lesson is conjecured to have been written in the year 1100, from the purport of the two lines,

Ben ha mile e cent an compli entierement,
Que fo Scripta lora, C son al derier temp.

There are already a thousand and one hundred years accomplished,
Since it was written thus, For we are in the last time.

The language is the ancient Waldensian, a sort of Patois, between French and Italian, and from the corresponding termination of the last syllables, in almost every two or three lines, the treatise appears to have been meant for verse.

It is inferred from the line,

> Que tuit li papa que foron de Silvestre en tro en aquest, &c.
> All the Popes which have been from Sylvester to this present time, &c.

that the writer of *La Nobla Leyçon*, assigns the period of the first opposition of the Waldensian church to the corrupt church of Rome, to the age of Constantine the Great.

We gather from the sentence, " *Illi dicon quel es Vaudés*," " they call such an one a *Vaudois*," that the Protestant congregation in the valleys of Piemont, have been known as such, under the same name, for upwards of 700 years.

In presenting this very curious treatise to the notice of his readers, the Author has followed the text of Morland, both in the original, and in the English translation.

## The Noble Lesson, written in the Language of the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys, in the Year 1100.

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| O frayre entendé una nobla leyçon. | O brethren, give ear to a noble lesson. |
| Sovent deven velhar e istar en oreson. | We ought always to watch and pray, |
| C. nos veen aquest mont esser presdel chavon. | For we see the world nigh to a conclusion. |
| Mot curios deorian esser de bonas obras far. | We ought to strive to do good works, |
| C. nos veen aquest mont de la fin apropiar. | Seeing that the end of this world approacheth. |
| Ben ha mil e cent an compli entierament. | There are already a thousand and one hundred years fully accomplished, |

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| Que fo scripta lora, C. son al derier temp. | Since it was written thus, For we are in the last time. |
| Poc deorian cubitar ; C. son al remanent. | We ought to covet little, for we are at what remains, viz. at the latter end. |
| Totiorn veen las enseignas venir à compliment. | We see daily the signs to be accomplished, |
| En acreysament de mal e en amermament de ben. | And that in the increase of evil, and decrease of good. |
| Ayço son li perilli que l' escriptura di. | These are the perils which the Scripture mentioneth, |
| L'Avangeli ho recoynta e Sant Paul aesti. | In the Gospels and St. Paul's writings : |
| Que neun home que viva non po saber la fin. | As also, that no man living can know the end. |
| Enperço deven mays temer ; C. nos non son certan. | And therefore we ought the more to fear, as not being certain, |
| Si la mort nos penré enehoy o deman. | Whether we shall die to-day or to-morrow. |
| Ma cant venré al jorn del jujament. | But when the day of judgment shall come, |
| Un çascun recebre per entier payament. | Every one shall receive their full reward. |
| Aquilli qu' auren fayt mal e aquilli qu' auren fayt ben. | Those that shall have done either well or ill. |
| Ma l' escriptura di, e nos creyre ho deven. | Now the Scripture saith, and we ought to believe it, |
| Que tuit li home del mont per dui chamin tenren. | That all men shall pass two ways. |
| Li bon yren en gloria, li fellon en torment. | The good to glory, and the wicked to torment. |
| Ma aquel que non creyré en aquel de partiment, | But he that shall not believe this departure, |
| Regarde l' escriptura del fin commençament. | Let him search the Scripture from the very beginning, |

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| Dos que Adam fo formà entro en aquest temp present. | Since Adam was formed until this present time, |
| Aqui poyré trobar si el aure entendement. | There he shall find, if he hath understanding, |
| Que poc son li salva aver lo remanent. | That few are the saved in comparison of the rest. |
| M. çascuna persona que vol ben obrar. | Wherefore every one that will do good works, |
| Lonor de Dio lo payre deo esser al commençar. | The honour of God the Father ought to be his first moving principle. |
| E apelar en aina lo sio glorios filli car filli de Santa Maria. | He ought likewise to implore the aid of his glorious Son, the dear Son of the Virgin Mary, |
| E lo Sanct Sprit que nos don bona via. | And the Holy Ghost which lightens us in the true way. |
| Aquisti 3. la Sancta Trenità, enayma un Dio, devon esser aurà, | These three (the holy Trinity) as being but one God, ought to be called upon, |
| Plen de tota poysença, e de tota sapiença e de tota bontà. | Full of all power, wisdom, and goodness. |
| Aquest deven sovent aurar e requerir. | This we ought often to beg and pray for, |
| Que nos don fortaleça encontra li enemic, | That he would enable us to encounter our enemies, |
| Que nos li poysian vencer devant la nostra fin, | And overcome them before our end, |
| Co es lo mont, e lo diavol e la carn. | Which are the world, the devil, and the flesh |
| E nos done sapiença acompagnà au bontà. | And that he would give us wisdom, accompanied with goodness, |
| Que nos poysian conoysser la via de verità. | That we may know the way of life, |
| E gardar pura l' anima que Dio nos a donà, | And keep pure that soul which God hath given us, |

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| L' anima e lo cors en via de càrità. | Yea both soul and body in way of charity. |
| En aysy que nos aman la Santa Trinità. | So as we love the holy Trinity, |
| E lo proyme, car Dio ho ha comenda. | And our neighbour, for God hath commanded it: |
| Non solament aquilli que nos fan ben, ma neys aquilli que nos fan mal. | Not only those which do us good, but those also which harm us. |
| E haver ferma esperança al Rey celestial. | Having hope in the King of heaven, |
| Que à la fin nos alberge al sio glorios ostal. | That at the end he may receive us into his glorious habitation. |
| M. aquel que non farè ço que se conten en aquesta leyçon. | Now he who shall not do what is contained in this Lesson, |
| Non intraré en la Santa Mayson. | Shall never enter into this Holy house. |
| M. aiço es de greo tenir à la caytiva gent, | Though it be never so hard to be received by the wicked, |
| Que aman l' or e l' argent, | Which love gold and silver, |
| E las empromesion de Dio han en despreçiament: | Which have the promises of God in contempt: |
| Illi non gardan la ley ni li commandament, | Who neither keep his law and commandments, |
| Ni li lay san gardar à alcuna bona gent, | Nor suffer those who would to keep them, |
| M. segont lor poysança hy fan empachement. | But rather hinder them to the utmost of their power. |
| Perque es aquest mal entre l' umana gent? | How came this evil to enter into mankind? |
| Perço que Adam peque del fin commençament, | Because Adam sinned at the first beginning, |
| C el manié del pom otra defendement, | By eating of the forbidden apple, |
| E à li autré germené lo gran del mal semenç, | And thus the grain of the evil seed taking root in others, |

El aquisté à si mort e à li autre ensegador ;
Ben poen dire que aqui hac mal bocon ;
M. Christ ha remps li bon per la soa passion.

M. nos troben en aquesta leyçon,
Que Adam fo mescresent de Dio lo sio Creator,
D. ayçi poen ver que ara son fayt pejor,
Aquilli que habandonan Dio lo payre onipotent,
E creon à las ydolas al lor destruiment.
Co que defent la ley que fo del commençament,
Ley natural sapella cumuna à tota gent,
Lacal Dio pausé al cor del sio premier forma.
De poer far ben o mal li doné franquetà,
Lo mal li a defendu, lo ben li ha commandá.
Ayço poes vos ben veer ques eysu mal gardà.
Que haven lay sa lo ben e lo mal haven obrà,
En ayma fey Cayn lo premier filli d' Adam, que ucis lo sio frayre Abel sença neuna cayçon,
Mas car el era bon,

He brought death to himself and all his posterity ;
Well may we say, this was an evil morsel ;
Howsoever Christ hath redeemed the good by his death and passion.
But alas, we find in this Lesson,
That Adam believed not God his Creator,
Yea and we say see likewise, that now adays,
Men forsake God the Father Almighty,
And believe in idols to their own destruction.
That which the law forbids, which was from the beginning,
Called the Law of Nature, common to all sorts,
Which God put into the heart of that man whom he first formed.
Giving him a power of doing good or evil,
But commanding him to do the good, and eschew the evil.
And this you may see was ill observed.
For that we have left the good, and done evil,
As did Cain the eldest son of Adam, who killed his brother Abel without any cause,
Save only for that he was good,

E havia fa fè al Segnor e non en autra creatura.
Ayçi poen penre eysemple de la ley la natura,
Lacal haven corrota, passà haven de mesura,
Pecca haven al Creator, e offendu à la creatura.
Nobla ley era aquela laca Dio nos doné,
El cor dun çascun home scrita la pausé,
Quel legés e gardés, e ensegnessa dreytura,
Amés Dio al sio cor sobre tota creatura,
Templés e servés e non hy pausés mesura,
C non es atroba en la santa Scriptura.
E gardés ferm lo matremoni aquel noble covenent,
E agues paç au li frayre, e amés tota autra gent:
Ayres argolli e amés humilità,
E façes à li autres en ayma el volia que fos fay à li,
E si el façes per lo contrari quel en fosa puni.
Poc foron aquilli que aquela ley ben garderon,
Moti foron aquilli que la trapasseron,

And had his hope in the Lord, and not in any creature.
Here we may take an example of the law of nature,
Which we have broken and transgressed,
We have sinned against the Creator, and offended the creature.
It was a noble law that was given us by God,
And written in the heart of every man,
That he might there read it and keep, and teach righteousness,
And love God in his heart above every creature,
And that he might fear and serve him without any reserve,
There being none else to be found in the holy Scriptures.
That he might likewise keep firm the marriage-tie, that noble accord or contract,
And have peace with his brethren, and love all other persons:
That he might hate pride, and love humility,
And do to others as he would be done by,
And if he did the contrary, that he should be punished.
Now few they were which kept well this law,
And more were they who broke it,

E lo Segnor abandoneron non donant à lui honor,
M. Creseron al demoni e à la soa temptacion,
Trop ameron la mont e poc paradis,
E serviron al cors majormant que à l' esprit.
Emperço nos troben que moti en son peri.
Ayçi se po repenre tot home que di,
Que Dio non fe la gent per laysar li perir.
M. gardese un çascun quel non li endevenga, en aysi cant edevenc à lor.
C. ley duluvi venc e destrus li fellon,
M. Dio fey far una archa enque el enclaus li bon.
Tant fo cregu lo mal e lo ben amerma,
Que en tot le mont non ac masque oyt salva.
Eysemple poen penre en aquela sentencia,
Gardar nos de mal e tuit façam penedença.
C. Yesu Christ o a dis, e en Sant Luces Script,
Que trastuit periren aquilli que le non la faren.
Ma aquilli que scamperon, Dio lor fey empromession.

Who forsook the Lord, not honouring him,
But believed the devil and his temptation,
Who loved too much the world, and too little the things of heaven,
And served the body more than the spirit.
Wherefore we find that many have perished.
Here every one may be reprehended that saith,
That God created not man to suffer him to perish.
But let every one take heed, that it happeneth to him, as it did to them.
For the deluge came and destroyed the wicked,
But God caused an ark to be made, in which he saved the good.
So were the bad increased, and the good diminished,
That in all the world there were saved but eight persons.
We may be instructed hereby,

To keep ourselves from evil, and that all ought to repent.
For Jesus Christ hath said it, and in St. Luke it is written,
That all those shall perish that shall not so do.
Now to those which escaped, God made a promise,

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| Que jamays en ayga non perire lo mont; | That the world should never more perish by water; |
| Aquilli cregron e foron multiplica. | And they believing it were multiplied. |
| Del ben que Dio lor fey poc se foron recorda, | But that good which God did them they soon forgat, |
| M. agron tant poc de fe e tant grant la temor, | Being men of little faith, and so great fear, |
| Quilli non creseron ben al dit del Segnor. | That they did not thoroughly believe the words of the Lord. |
| M. temian que las ayga neesan encara lo mont, | But they believed that the waters should again trouble the world, |
| E disseron de far torre per reduyre se aqui, | And thought of building a tower to retire into, |
| E ben la commençeron, segont çoques script, | Yea and they began it (as it is written) |
| E diçian de farla larga, e tant hauta, e tant grant, | Intending it to make it so large, so high, and so great, |
| Quille avenguées entro al cel, ma illi non pogron far tant. | That the top thereof might reach to heaven, but alas, they could not accomplish their design. |
| C. lo desplac à Dio e fey lor osemblant. | For they displeased God thereby, the which also he then demonstrated. |
| Babelonia havia nom aquilea grant ciptà, | This great city was called Babylon, |
| E ara es dita confusion per la soa mal vestà. | And now it is called Confusion, by reason of its ruinous condition. |
| Adon era un lengage entre tota la gent, | There was then but one only language amongst men, |
| M. quilli non sentendesan hy fey Dio departimen, | But that they might not understand each other, God made a division, |
| Quilli non façesan quilli havian commençà. | That so they might not finish what they had begun. |

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| Foron seli lengaje per tot lo mont scampà. | The which languages then spread through all the world. |
| Poi pequeron greoment abandonant la ley, (çoes ley de natura) | After this they sinned grievously, renouncing the law, viz. that of nature. |
| C. l' Escriptura di, e ben se po provar, | For the Scripture saith, and it may be evidently proved, |
| Que cinc sciptas periron lascal façian lo mal, | That five cities perished which did evil, |
| En fuoc e en solpre Dio li condampné. | Being sentenced by God, to fire and brimstone. |
| El destrus li fellon e li bon delioré, | He destroyed the wicked, and the good he delivered, |
| Co fo Loth e aquilli de son ostal que l' Angel engité, | Viz. Lot and his family, which the angel brought out, |
| Catre foron per nombre, ma l' un se condampné, | They were four, but one was condemned, |
| Co fo la mollire pur, C. se regarde otra defendement. | For the woman looked back, breaking the command. |
| Ayçi ha grant eysemple a tota hùmana gent, | Here's now an example for all mankind, |
| Quilli se devan gardar de ço que Dio defent. | That they ought to take heed of that which God forbids. |
| En aquel temp fo Abram baron plaçent à Dio, | In those days lived Abraham, a man well-pleasing God, |
| E engenré un patriarcha dont foron li Jusio. | Who begat a patriarch of whom came the Jews. |
| Nobla gent foron aquilli en la temor de Dio, | And these were a noble people in the fear of the Lord, |
| En Agit heiteron entre autra mala gent, | Who lived in Egypt, amongst other wicked people, |
| Lay foron apermu e costreyt per lonc temp, | Where they were oppressed and straitened a long time, |
| E crideron al Segnor e el lor trames Moysent, | But crying to the Lord he sent unto them Moses, |

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| E deliore son poble e destrus l' autra gent. | And delivered his people, and destroyed the other nations. |
| Per lo mar ros passeron coma per bel eysuyt, | They passed through the Red Sea, as through a dry and pleasant place, |
| M. li enemic de lor lical li persequian, y periron trastuit. | But their enemies who persecuted them perished all in the waters. |
| Motas autras ensegna Dio al sio poble fey; | Many other signs did God then give to his people; |
| El li paç 40. an al desert e lor doné la ley, | Feeding them forty years in the wilderness, and giving them the law, |
| En doas taulas peyrienças la trames per Moysent, | In two tables of stone, which he sent by Moses, |
| Troberon la scripta e ordena noblament. | Which they found written, and nobly ordained. |
| Un Segnor demonstrava esser à tota gent, | This demonstrated that there was a Lord of all men, |
| Aquel deguesan creyre, e amar de tot lo cor, e temer e servir entro al dia de la fin, | Whom they ought to believe, and love with all their heart, as likewise to fear and serve him to the end, |
| E un çascun amés lo sio proyme enayma si: | And that every one should love his neighbour as himself: |
| Consellesan las vevas, e li orfe sustenir, | That they should give counsel to widows, and defend the fatherless, |
| Alberguesan li paure, e li nu revestir, | That they should receive the poor into their houses, and clothe the naked, |
| Paguesan li fameiant, e li anant edreycesan; | That they should feed the hungry, and conduct the traveller; |
| E la ley de lui mot deguesan gardar, | And in sum keep carefully this his law, |

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| A li gardant empromes lo regne celestial, | Promising to those that kept it, the heavenly kingdom. |
| Lo serviment de las ydolas mes en defension, | He forbad service unto idols, |
| Homecide, avoteri, e tota fornigaçion, | Homicide, adultery, and all sorts of whoredom, |
| Mentir et perjurar e falsa garentia, | Lying, perjury, and false witness, |
| Usura, e rapina, e mala cubiticia, | Usury, rapine, and evil coveting, |
| En apres avaritia, e tota felonia. | As also avarice, and all wickedness. |
| A li bon empromé vita e li mal auçia. | To the good he promised life, but threatened death to the wicked. |
| Adera vistian en la soa segnoria : | Then were they preserved alive in their principality : |
| C. aquilli que peccavan ni façian malament, | But those which sinned and did wickedly, |
| Illi eran mort e destruit sença perdonament : | They died and were destroyed without remission : |
| M. l' escriptura di e mot es manifest, | For the Scripture says, and it is manifest enough, |
| Que trenta milia foron li remas al desert, | That thirty thousand were left in the wilderness, |
| Trenta milia e prus segon que la ley di, | Thirty thousand and more (as the law saith) |
| Illi foron mort de glay de fuoc e de serpent ; | Died by the sword, by fire, and serpents ; |
| E moti autre periron del destermenament, | And many others were destroyed in another manner, |
| La terra se partic e receop li l' enfern. | The earth opening, and hell receiving them. |
| Ayçi nos nos poen repenre del nostre grant sopere, | And here we may have matter of reproving ourselves very seasonably, |

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| M. aquilli que feron ben lo plaer del Segnor, ereteron la terra de l' empromesion. | But those which did the will of the Lord, inherited the land of promise. |
| Mot fo de nobla gent en aquela saçon, | Now there were in those days many worthies, |
| En ayma fo Davi, e lo rey Salamon, | As David, and Solomon the king, |
| Ysaya e Jeremia e moti autre Baron, | Isaiah, Jeremy, and many others, |
| Que per la ley combatian e façian defension. | Which fought for the faith, and defended the same. |
| Un poble era à Dio eyleyt de tot lo mont. | There was one only people chosen by God out of all the world. |
| Li enemic eran moti dentora lical li persequian. | The enemies were in great number round about, which persecuted them. |
| Grant eysemplen poen penre en aquista leyçon: | We have many things worth our learning and imitation in this Lesson: |
| Cant illi gardivan la ley e li commandament, | When they kept the law and the commandments, |
| Dio combatia per lor encontra l' autra gent; | God fought for them against the other nations; |
| M. cant illi peccavan ni façian malament, | But when they sinned and did wickedly, |
| Illi eran mort e destruit e pres de l' autra gent. | They died, were destroyed, and taken captives by those other nations. |
| Tant fo alargà lo poble e plen de grant ricor, | But so enlarged were these people, and so abounding in riches, |
| Quel vay trayre li cauç en contra son Segnor, | That they kicked against the Lord, |
| Enperço nos troben en aquesta Leyçon, | Wherefore we find in this Lesson, |
| Que lo Rey de Babelonia li més en sa preyson. | That the King of Babylon put them into prison. |

Lay foron apermu e costreyt per lonc temp,
E crideron al Segnor au lo cor repentent ;
Adera li retorné en Jerusalem poc foron li obedient que gardesan la ley,
Ni que aguesan temor d' offendre lo lor rey.
M. jac alcuna gent plen de tant grant falsetà,
Co eran li Farisio e li autre Scriptura,
Que illi gardesan la ley motera demostrà,
Que la gent oveguessan per esser prus honorà.
M. poc val aquel honor que tost ven a chavon.
Persequeran li sant e li just e li bon ;

Au plor e au gayment auravam lo Segnor,
Quel deysendés en terra per salvar aquest mont :
C. tot l' uman lignaie anava à perdicion.
Adonca Dio tramés l' angel anan nobla pouçela de lignaje de rey,
Doçament la salute, C. separtenia à ley,

En apres li vay dire, no temer Maria,

Where they were oppressed and straitened a long time,
Then they cried to the Lord with a repentant heart ;
And he restored them to Jerusalem, but few there were that were obedient and kept the law,
And that feared to offend their king.
Yea some there were, men full of deceit and falsehood,
Viz. the Pharisees and those others the Scribes,
These kept the law, (as plainly appears)
Only that the world might see it, and to be the more honoured.
But little worth is this honour, which soon vanisheth.
Then were the saints persecuted, and those that were just and good ;
Then they prayed unto the Lord with cries and tears,
That he would come down on earth, and save this world :
For all mankind was in the way of perdition.
Then sent God the angel to the noble Virgin of royal descent,
Who sweetly saluted her according to the command of him that sent him,
And afterwards said unto her, Fear not, Mary,

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| C. lo Sant Sprit serè en ta compagnia ; | For the Holy Ghost shall overshadow thee ; |
| De tu naysseré filli que apellares Yeshu, | Thou shalt bear a Son, whom thou shalt call Jesus, |
| El salvaré son poble de ço quel ha efendu. | He shall save his people from their sins. |
| Neo mes lo porte al sio ventre la Vergena gloriosa, | Nine months the glorious virgin bare him in her womb, |
| M. quilli non fos represa fo de Joseph sposa ; | But that she might not be made a public example, she was espoused by Joseph ; |
| Pura era nostra dona e Joseph atresi. | Pure was this virgin, and Joseph also. |
| M. ayço deven creyre, C. l' Avangeli o di, | But this we ought to believe, for the Gospel saith it, |
| Que en la crepia lo pauseron cant fo nà lo fantin, | That they put the infant in the manger when it was born, |
| De panc l' enveloperon, paurament fo alberga. | They wrapt him in swaddling clothes, and lodged him in a poor inn. |
| Ayço se pon repenre li cubit e li avar, | Here may be reprehended those covetous and avaricious men, |
| Que damasar aver non se volon cosar. | Which never cease to heap up riches together. |
| Moti miracle foron cant fo nà lo Segnor : | Now there were many miracles wrought when the Lord was born : |
| Que Dio trames l'angel anunciar à li pastor : | God sent the angel to reveal this mystery to the shepherds : |
| En orient aparec una stella à li trei baron. | In the east appeared a star to the three wise men. |
| Gloria fo donà à Dio al cel, en terra paç a li bon. | Glory was given to God on high, and on earth peace to the good. |
| M. en apres un petit sufurc persequecion, | Afterwards the little child suffered persecution, |

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| M. lo fantin creysia per gracia e per età, | But the infant increased in grace and age, |
| E en sapiença devina en lacal el era ensegna, | And in divine wisdom, in which he was instructed, |
| E apelle xii. Apostol lical son ben nominà, | And called the twelve Apostles, which were rightly so named, |
| E volc mudar la ley que avant avia donà, | And improved the law which was given before ; |
| El non la mude pas quilli fos abandonà, | He changed it not, that it should be abandoned, |
| M. la renovelle quilli fos prus fort gardà. | But renewed it that it might be better kept. |
| El receop lo baptism per donar salvament, | He received baptism for to give salvation, |
| E a li Apostol vay dire que bapteisan la gent, | And commanded the Apostles to baptise the nations, |
| C. adonca commençava lo renovellament, | (For then began the renewing) |
| Ben defent la ley vellia fornigar e avoutrar, | The ancient law forbad fornication and adultery, |
| M. la novella repren veser e cubitar; | But the new reprehends looking and lusting ; |
| La ley antenia di partir lo matrimoni, e carta de refu se deguesan donar, | The old law had power to make null marriage, and that bills of divorcement might be given, |
| M. la novella di non penré la laysà, | But the new saith, Thou shalt not marry her that is put away, |
| E nenguen non departa ço que Dio ha aiostà. | And what God hath joined, let no man separate. |
| La ley vellia maudi lo ventre que fruc non aporta, | The old law cursed the barren womb, |
| M. la novella cosellia gardar vergenetà, | But the new counselleth to keep virginity, |
| La ley vellia defent solament perjurar ; | The old law forbiddeth only to forswear ; |

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| M. la novella di al postot non jurar; | But the new saith, Swear not at all, |
| E prus de si o de non non sia lo tio parlar. | And that thy speech be no more than yea and nay. |
| La ley vellia comanda combater contra li enemic e rendre mal per mal, | The old law biddeth to fight against enemies, and render evil for evil, |
| M. la novella di non te vollias vengier, | But the new one saith, Avenge not thyself, |
| M. laysa la vangiança al Rey celestial, | But leave thy vengeance to thy heavenly King, |
| E laysa viore en paç aquilli que te faren mal, | And let those live in peace which do thee hurt, |
| E trobarés pardon del Rey celestial, | And then thou shalt find pardon with the heavenly King. |
| La ley vellia dy, amarés lo tio amic, e aures en odi lo tio enemic, | The old law saith, Thou shalt love thy friend, and hate thine enemy, |
| M. la novella di non farés prus en aysi, | But the new one saith, Thou shalt do no more so, |
| M. amà li vostre enemic, e façé ben aquilli que ayreron vos, | But ye shall love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, |
| Aurà per li persequent, e per li acaysonantà vos, | And pray for them that persecute you, and seek for occasion against you, |
| Que vos sia filli del vostre payre local es en li cel. | That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven. |
| La ley vellia comanda punir li malfaçent, | The old law saith, Punish malefactors, |
| M. la novella di pardona à tota gent; | But the new saith, Pardon all sorts of people, |
| E trobarés pardon del payre omnipotent, | And thou shalt find pardon with the Father Almighty, |
| C. si tu non perdonarés tu non trobarés salvament. | For if thou dost not pardon, thou shalt not be saved. |

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| Nengun non deo aucire ni ayrar nenguna gent, | None ought to kill or hate any person, |
| Manc ni simple ni paure non deven scarnir, | Much less ought we to mock either simple or poor men, |
| Ni tenir vil le strang que ven d' autruy pays. | Nor despise the stranger which cometh from far. |
| C. en aquest mont nos son tuit pellegrin. | For in this world we are all pilgrims. |
| C. nos tuit son frayre deven à Dio servir. | Thus all we that are brethren ought to serve God. |
| Coes la novella ley que Yeshu Xrist a dit que nos deven tenir. | And this is the new law which Jesus Christ saith we ought to keep. |

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| E apellé sio Apostol, e fey lor commandament | And he called the Apostles and commanded them |
| Que anisan per lo mont e ensegnesan la gent; | To go through the world, and teach all nations, |
| Jusios e Grees prediquesan e tota humana gent. | To preach to Jews and Greeks, and all mankind. |
| E doné à lor poestà de sobre li serpent, | And he gave them power over serpents, |
| Citesan li demoni e sanesan li enferm, | To drive away devils, and heal the sick, |
| Resucitesan li mort e mondesan li lebros, | To raise the dead, and cleanse the lepers, |
| E façesan à li autre enayma el havia fayt à lor, | And to do to others as he had done to them; |
| D' or ni d' argent non fossan possessent, | To possess neither gold nor silver, |
| M. au vita e au vestimenta se tenguesan content. | But to be content with food and raiment. |
| E amesan se entre lor e aguesan bona paç. | To love one another, and to be at peace. |
| Adera lor empromés lo regne celestial, | Then he promised them the heavenly kingdom, |

E aquilli que tenren pauretà spiritual.
M. qui sabriancal son, illi sarian tost nombra,
Que vollian esser paure per propria voluntà.
De ço que era avenir el lor vay anonciar,
Cosi el devia murir e poys resucitar.
E lor dis las ensegnas e li demonstrament,
Lical devian venir devant lo feniment.
Motas bellas semblanças dis à lor e à la gent,
Lascals feron scriptas al novel testament.
M. se Xrist volen amar e saber sa doctrina,
Nos coventa velliar e legir l' escriptura.
Aqui poyren trobar cant nos auren legi,
Que solament per far ben Xrist fo persegu.
El resucitava li mort per divina vertu,
El façia veser li cec, que unca non havian vist,
El mondava li lebros, e li sor façia auvir,
E gitava li demoni, façent motus vertus ;

And to those which were spiritually poor.
But he that knows who they are, would number those,
That would be poor of their own accord.
Then he told them what should happen,
How he must die, and afterwards rise again.
And he told them the signs and wonders,
Which must happen before the end.
Many excellent parables he spoke to them and the people,
Which were written in the New Testament.
But if we will love Christ, and know his doctrine,
We ought to watch, and read the Scripture,
Where we may find when we shall read,
That only for doing well, Christ was persecuted.
He raised the dead by divine power,
He made the blind to see, which never had seen,
He cleansed the lepers, and made the deaf to hear,
He cast out devils, working many miracles ;

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| E cant mays façia de ben, mays era persegu. | And by how much the more he did good, so much the more was he persecuted. |
| Co eran li Farisio lical lo perseguian ; | The Pharisees were they which persecuted him ; |
| E aquilli del rey Herode e l'autra gent clerçia : | And the people of Herod, and the others, viz. them of the Clergy : |
| C. illi havian envidia, C. la gent lo seguian ; | For they envied him, because he was followed by the people ; |
| E car illi creyan en lui e en li sio commandament, | Because they believed in him and his commandments, |
| Penseron lui aucire e far moti torment, | They sought how they might torment him and put him to death, |
| E parleron à Juda e feron li covenent, | And for this reason spoke to Judas, and made an agreement with him, |
| Que cel lo lor linorés, el agra 30. argent. | To deliver him for thirty pieces of silver. |
| E Juda fo cubit e fey lo tradiment, | Now Judas being covetous, wrought the treason, |
| E lioré son segnor entre la mala gent. | And betrayed his Lord to those wicked men. |
| Li Jusio foron aquilli que lo crucifiqueron, | The Jews were they which crucified him, |
| Li pè e las mans forment li claveleron, | Nailing fast his feet and his hands, |
| E corona de spinas en testa li pauseron, | And putting a crown of thorns on his head, |
| Diçent li moti repropi illi lo blastemeron ; | And speaking many reproaches, they blasphemed him ; |
| El dis quel havia sé, fel e açi li abeoreron. | And when he said, he was thirsty, they likewise gave him gall and vinegar to drink. |
| Tant foron li torment amar e doloyros, | The torments were so bitter and painful, |

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| Que l'anima partic del cors per salvar li peccador. | That the soul parted from the body to save sinners. |
| Lo cors remas aqui pendu lobre en la croç, | The body having suffered this, hung there upon the cross, |
| El mey de dui laron 4. plagas li van far sença li autre batement. | In the midst of two thieves; they gave him four wounds, besides other blows. |
| Poys li feron la cinquena per far lo compliment; | And after that, the fifth, to accomplish the matter; |
| C. un de cavalier venc e li ubere la costa, | For, one of the soldiers came and opened his side, |
| Adonc y sic sanc e ayga ensemp mescla. | And immediately there issued out water and blood mixed together. |
| Tuit li Apostol fugiron, ma l' un i retorné, | Whereupon all the Apostles fled, but one returned, |
| E era aqui au doas monas istant josta la croç, | And was there with two women near unto the cross. |
| Grant dolor havian tuit—dona, | All were very sorry, chiefly his mother, |
| Cant illi veya son filli mort e nu e naf asus en la croç. | When she saw her Son dead and naked, fastened upon the cross, |
| De li bon fo sebeli e gardà de li fellon. | He was buried by the good, and watched by the wicked. |
| El tray li sio d' enfern e resucité alterç jorn, | He rose out of the grave the third day. |
| E aparec à li sio enayma el havia dit à lor. | And appeared to his disciples, as he had said unto them. |
| Adonca agron grant goy cant vigron lo Segnor, | Then were they possessed with great joy when they saw the Lord, |
| E foron conforta que anant havian grant paor; | And were confirmed, for before they feared greatly; |
| E conversé cun lor entro al dia de l' acension. | And he conversed with them until the day of the ascension. |

Ad. monte en gloria lo nostre Salvador,
E dis à la sio Apostol e à li autre ensegador,
Que entro à la fin del seglen fora totavia au lor.
Mas cant à Pandecosta se recorde de lor,
Et lor tramés lo Sant Sprit local es consolador,
E ensegné li Apostol per divina dotrina,
E saupron li lengaje e la santa Scriptura,
Adonc lor sovenc de ço quel havia dit.
Sença temor parlavan la dotrina de Xrist,
Jusios e Grees predicavan façent motas vertus;
E li cresent baptejavan al nom de Yeshu Xrist.
Ad. fo fayt un poble de novel converti;
Crestian foron nominà, C. illi creyan en Xrist.
M. ço troben que l' Escriptura di,
Mot fort li perseguian Jusios e Saraçins.
M. tant foron fort li Apostol en la temor del Segnor,
E li home e las fenas lical eran cun lor.

Then our Saviour ascended into glory,
And said to his disciples and other followers,
That to the end of the world he would be with them.
But at the feast of Pentecost he remembered them,
And sent them the Holy Ghost, which is the comforter,
And taught the Apostles by divine doctrine,
And they understood the languages and the Holy Scripture,
And then they remembered what he had said.
They spoke without fear, of the doctrine of Christ,
They preached to Jews and Greeks, working many miracles;
And baptized those who believed in the name of Jesus Christ.
Then was there a people new converted;
They were called Christians, for they believed in Christ.
But we find here that the Scripture saith,
That the Jews and Saracens persecuted them grievously.
But the Apostles were so fortified in the fear of the Lord,
And the men and women which were with them.

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| Que per lor non laysavan ni lor fayt ni lor dit, | That for all that, they left neither speaking nor doing, |
| Tant que moti naucisseron enayma illi havian Yeshu Xrist. | Whatsoever should come of it, so that they might have Jesus Christ. |
| Grant foron li torment segont ques script, | The torments were great, according to what is written, |
| Solament, C. Monstravan la via de Jeshu Xrist. | Only because they taught the way of Jesus Christ. |
| M. aquilli que li perseguian non era tant a mal tenir; | But as for the persecutors we need not so much wonder, |
| C. illi non havian la fé del nostre Segnor Jeshu Xrist, | For, they had not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, |
| Coma d' aquilli que queron ara cayson e que persegon tant; | Like those who now seek occasion to persecute the saints; |
| Que Crestian devon esser, ma mal ofan semblant. | Which men ought to be Christians, but appear not to be such. |
| M. enço sepon repenre aquilli lical persegon e confortar li bon; | And in this they are to be blamed, for that they persecute and imprison the good; |
| C. non se troba en neguna leyçon, | For, it is not found any where, |
| Que li sant perseguesan neun ne mesesan en preson. | That the saints persecuted or imprisoned any. |
| M. en apres li Apostol foron li doctor alcun, | Now after the Apostles, were certain teachers, |
| La via de Yeshu Xrist monstravan lo nostre Salvador. | Who taught the way of Jesus Christ our Saviour. |
| M. encora se troba alcun en aquest temp present, | And these are found even at this present day, |
| Lical son manifest à mot poc de gent, | But they are known to very few, |
| La via de Yeshu Xrist mot fort volrian mostrar, | Who have a great desire to teach the way of Jesus Christ, |

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| M. tant son persegu que poc o poyon far, | But they are so persecuted, that they are able to do but little, |
| Tant son li fals e Crestian enceca per erro, | So much are the false Christians blinded with error, |
| E majorment que li autre aquilli que son pastor, | And more than the rest they that are pastors, |
| Que illi persegon e aucion aquilli que son mellior, | For they persecute and hate those who are better than themselves, |
| E layson viore en paç aquilli que son fals enganador. | And let those live quietly who are false deceivers. |
| M. enço se po conoysser quilli non son bon pastor, | But by this we may know that they are not good pastors, |
| C. non son aman las feas si non per la toyson. | For they love not the sheep, but only for their fleeces. |
| M. l' Escriptura di, e nos o poen veyr, | The Scripture saith, and it is evident, |
| Que sel ama alcun bon quel vollia amar Dio e temer Yeshu Xrist. | That if any man love those who are good, he must needs love God, and Jesus Christ. |
| Que non vollia maudire ni jurar ni mentir, | Such an one will neither curse, swear, nor lie, |
| Ni avoutrar ni aucire ni penre delautruy, | He will neither commit adultery, nor kill; he will neither defraud his neighbour, |
| Ni veniar se de li sio enemic, | Nor avenge himself of his enemies, |
| Illi diçon quel es Vaudés e degne de punir. | Now such an one is termed a Waldensian, and worthy to be punished. |
| Ban cayson mençonias en engan, | And they find occasion by lies and by deceit, |
| Cusi illi li poysan toler ço quel ha de son just a fan. | To take from him that which he hath gotten by his just labour. |

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| M. forment se conforte aquel ques persegu per la temor del Segnor, | However, he that is thus persecuted for the fear of the Lord, strengthens himself greatly, |
| C. lo regne de li cel li seré aparellia à lisir d' aquest mont. | By this consideration, that the kingdom of heaven shall be given him at the end of the world. |
| Ad auré grant gloria sel aure agu desonor. | Then he shall have a weight of glory in recompence for all such dishonour. |
| M. en ço es mot manifesta la malicia de lor, | But herein is clearly manifest the malice of those men, |
| Que aquel que vol maudire e mentir e jurar, | That they which will curse, lie, and swear, |
| E forment prestar à usura, e aucire, e avoutrar, | He that will frequently put his money to usury, kill, and whore, |
| E veniarse d' aquilli que li fan mal; | And avenge himself on those which hurt him; |
| Illi diçon que es prodome e leal home recoynta. | This they say is a good man, and to be accounted faithful. |
| M. à la fin gardese quel non sia engana. | But let him take heed he be not deceived at the end. |
| Cant ven lo mal mortal, la mort lo costeng e à pen po parlar, | When he has received the stroke of death, and when death seizes on him, and he becomes almost speechless, |
| E demanda lo prevere se vol confessar: | Then he desires the priest to confess him: |
| M. segont l' Escriptura el ha trop tarçà lacal commanda e di, | But according to the Scriptures he has delayed too long, for that commands us |
| Sane vio te confessa, non attendra à la fin; | To repent while we have time, and not to put it off till the last: |
| Lo preverli demanda si el ha nengun peccà, | The priest asketh him if he hath any sin, |

Dui mot o tre li respont e ha tost enavança;
Ben li di lo prever que el non po esser asot,
Sel non rent tot lautruy, e esmende ben sio tort:
M. cant el au ayço el ha grant pensament,
E pensa entre si siel rent entierament,
Que remanre à sio eyfant, ni que diren la gent?
A sio eyfant commanda quilli eymen don sio tort,
E fay pat o lo prever quel poyssa esser asot;
Si el ha cent lioras d' autrui e encara ben dui,
Car lo prever lo quita per cent soç,
E tal volta permens cant el non po haver prus,
E fay li amones tanças e li promet pardon,
Quel faça dire mesa per si e per li sio payron.
E lor empromet pardon sia à just o sia à fellon,
Ad. si pausa la man sus la testa,
Cant el li laysa prus li mena prus grant festa,
E fay li entendement quel sia mot ben asot.

He answers two or three words, and soon has done;
The priest tells him he cannot be forgiven,
If he do not restore, and examine well his faults:
When he hears this, he is very much troubled,
And thinks with himself, if he restore entirely,
What shall he leave his children, and what will the world say?
Then he commandeth his children to examine their faults,
And buyeth of the priest his absolution;
Though he hath an hundred livres of another and even two hundred,
The priest acquits him for a hundred pence,
And sometimes for less when he can get no more,
Telling him a long story, and promising him pardon,
That he will say mass for him, and for his ancestors.
And thus he pardons them, be they righteous or wicked,
Laying his hand upon their heads,
(But when he leaves them, he maketh the better cheer)
And telling him that he is very well absolved.

M. mal son eymenda aquilli de qui el ha agu li tort,
M. el seré engana en aytal asolvement,
E aquel que o fay creyre y pecca mortalment,
M. yo auso dire, C. se troba en ver,
Que tuit li papa que foron de Silvestre en tro en aquest,
E tuit li cardinal, e tuit li vesque, e tuit li aba, tuit aquesti ensemp,
Non han tant de poestà de dever asolvar quilli poysan perdonar
A nenguna creatura pur un pecca mortal;
Solament Dio perdona que autre non o po far.
M. ayço devon far aquilli que son pastor,
Predicar devon lo poble e istar en oreson,
E paysser lo sovent de divina dotrina;
E castigar li peccant donant à lor deciplina,
Coes uraya amonestança quilli hayan pentiment.
Prumierament se confesson sença neun mancament,
E quilli façan penedonça en la vita present,

But alas they are but sadly confessed who are thus faulty,
And will certainly be deceived in such an absolution,
And he that maketh them believe it sinneth mortally.
For, I dare affirm, and it is very true,
That all the popes which have been from Silvester[a] to this present time,
And all cardinals, bishops, abbots, and the like,
Have no power to absolve or pardon,
Any creature so much as one mortal sin;
It is God alone who pardons, and no other.
But this ought they to do who are pastors,
They ought to preach to the people, and pray with them,
And feed them often with divine doctrine;
And chastise the sinners with discipline,
Viz. by declaring that they ought to repent.
First, that they confess their sins freely and fully,
And that they repent in this present life,

[a] Silvester, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 314.

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| Junare far almosnas e aurar aucor bullient, | That they fast and give alms, and pray with a fervent heart, |
| C. per aquestas cosas troba larma salvament. | For, by these things the soul finds salvation. |
| D. nos crestianaytios crestians lical haven peccà, | Wherefore we professed Christians which have sinned |
| La ley de Yeshu Xrist haven abandona, | And forsaken the law of Jesus Christ, |
| C. non haven temor ni fé ni carità, | Having neither fear, faith, nor love, |
| Confessar nos coventa non y deven tarçar, | We must confess our sins without any delay, |
| Au plor e au pentiment nos coven smendar, | We must amend with weeping and repentance, |
| L' ofensa que haven fayta per 3. pecca mortal, | The offences which we have committed, and for those three mortal sins, |
| Per cubiticia d' olli e per de leyt de carn e per superbia de vita, perque haven fayt lo mal ; | To wit, for the lust of the eye, the lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life, through which we have done evil ; |
| Aquesta via nos convent tenir. | We must keep this way. |
| Si nos volen amar ni segre Yeshu Xrist, | If we will love and follow Jesus Christ, |
| Paureta spiritual de cor deven tenir, | We must have spiritual poverty of heart, |
| E amar la casteta, Dio humilment servir, | And love chastity, and serve God humbly, |
| Adonca ensegrian la via de Yeshu Xrist, | For, so we may follow the way of Jesus Christ, |
| E naysi vencerian li nostre enemic. | And thus we may overcome our enemies. |
| Breoment es recoynta en aquesta léyçon | There is a brief rehearsal in this lesson, |

De las 3. leys que Dio doné al mont;
La primiera ley demonstra qui a sen ni raçon,
Coes à conoysser Dio e onrar lo sio Creator.
C. aquel que ha entendement po ben pensar entre si,
Que el non ses pas formà ni li autre atresi:
D. ayçi po conoysser aquel que ha sen ni raçon,
C. lo es un Segnor Dio que ha formà tot la mont,
E conoysent lui mot lo deven honorar;
C. aquilli foron dampnà que non o volgron far.
M. la 2. ley que Dio doné à Moysent,
Nos ensegna à temor Dio e à servir lui forment.
C. el condampnà e punis tot aquel home que ofent.
Ma la 3. ley lac al es ara al temp present,
Nos ensegna amar Dio del cor e servir purament:
C. atent lo peccador eli dona alongament,
Quel poysa far penedença en la vita present.
L' autra ley dequienant prus non deven haver,

Of three laws which God gave to the world;
The first law directeth men who have judgment and reason,
Viz. to know God, and to pray to his Creator.
For he that hath judgment, may well think with himself,
That he formed not himself, nor any thing else:
Then here he who hath judgment and reason may know,
That there is one Lord God who created all the world,
And knowing him, he ought much to honour him;
For, they were damned that would not do it.
The second law which God gave to Moses,
Teacheth us to fear God, and to serve him with all our strength;
For he condemneth and punisheth every one that offends.
But the third law, which is at this present time,
Teacheth us to love God, and serve him purely:
For he waiteth for the sinner, and giveth him time,
That he may repent in this present life.
As for any other law to come after, we shall have none.

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| M. ensegro Yeshu Xrist e far li sio plaçer, | Save only to imitate Jesus Christ, and to do his will, |
| E gardar fermament ço quel ha commandà, | And keep fast that which he commands us, |
| E esser mot avisà cant venré Antexrist. | And to be well forewarned when Antichrist shall come. |
| Que nos non crean à son fayt ni à son dit. | That we may believe neither his words nor his works |
| M. segont l' Escriptura ara son moto Antexrist. | Now according to the Scripture, there are already many Antichrists. |
| C. Antexrist son tuit aquilli que contrarian à Xrist. | For, all those which are contrary to Christ, are Antichrists. |
| Motas ensegnas e grant demonstrament | Many signs and great wonders |
| Saren dos aquest temp entro al dia del jujament, | Shall be from this time forward until the day of judgment, |
| Lo cel e la terra ardren e murren tuit li vivent. | The heaven and the earth shall burn, and all the living die. |
| Poys resucitaren tuit en vita permanent, | After which all shall arise to everlasting life. |
| E seren aplana tuit li hodificament, | And all buildings shall be laid flat, |
| Ad. seré fayt lo derier jujament, | Then shall be the last judgment. |
| Dio pardre lo sio poble segont que es script, | When God shall separate his people, according as it is written, |
| Ali mal diré departé vos demi, | To the wicked he shall say, Depart ye from me, |
| Ana el fuoc enfernal que mays non auré fin ; | Into hell fire, which never shall be quenched, |
| Per 3. greos condicions seré costreyt aqui ; | With three grievous punishments there to be afflicted ; |
| Per moteça de renas e per aspre torment : | By multitude of pains, and sharp torment : |
| E car seré dapnà sença defalhiment. | And to be damned without remedy |

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| D' aqui nos garde Dio per lo sio placement, | From which God deliver us, if it be his blessed will, |
| E nos done auvir ço quel dire à la soa gent e nant quel tarçe gayre, | And give us to hear that which he shall say to his elect without delay; |
| Cant el diré venevosen au mi beneyt del mio payre, | Come hither, ye blessed of my Father, |
| E possesire lo regne local es aparellia à vos del commançament del mont, | Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world, |
| Al cal luoc auré deleyt e riqueças e honor. | Where you shall have pleasure, riches, and honour. |
| Praça aquel Segnor que formé lo mont, | May it please the Lord, which formed the world, |
| Que nos sian de si eyleyt per istar en sa cort. | That we may be of the number of his elect, to dwell in his court for ever. |
| Dio gracias. Amen. | Praised be God. Amen. |

# N°. III.

## *A brief History of Claude, Bishop of the Valleys, between the Years of our Lord* 817, *and* 839*; with some Account of his Doctrines and Writings against the Corruptions of the Church of Rome.—Extracted from "Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont." By Peter Allix, D.D.*

This Claudius was born in Spain; he had been a disciple of Fœlix Bishop of Urgel; he was for some years in the court of Ludovicus Pius, amongst his chaplains; and being endowed with great talents for a preacher, when Lewis was advanced to the empire, he caused him to be ordained Bishop of Turin. It will probably be imagined, that he had borrowed from Fœlix, Bishop of Urgel, the companion of Elipandus, the opinions of Nestorianism: but whosoever thinks so, will find himself mistaken; for his character of a great preacher, which had procured him the esteem of the emperor, and his long continuance in Lewis's court, during the life of Charles the Great, a court where that opinion, since the condemnation of Fœlix and Elipandus, at Francfort, in 794, was very much had in detestation, are sufficient to purge him from any such suspicion. But over and above all this, his writings upon the Scripture shew him to have been very far from that opinion; for we find, in several passages, unquestionable evidences of his orthodox judgment in this point. What he saith upon the 25th of St. Matthew, ver. 31, is decisive in this matter; and yet he expresseth himself more strongly, if it be possible, on Matt. xxi. ver. 2. Neither is it less easy to purge him of another calumny, which was cast upon him after his death, by Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, who, in his preface to King Charles the Bald, accuseth him for having endeavoured to revive the sect of Arius. I thought at first, that this was only a fault of the transcriber, who had writ Arius for Aërius; but the manner of Jonas's expressing himself, has made me retract my first conjecture: however, it is no less easy to refute this calumny, than it was to clear him from the first suspicion. In a word, we do not find any thing like it in so many books writ by him, and we find that which is contrary to it on Matt. xii. ver. 25. Let them make out to us, that any such thing was found amongst his papers after his death, as Jonas seems to insinuate, and we shall believe that Jonas was not over apt to give credit to those men, whose only aim was to bespatter the reputation of Claudius, and to make it odious and detestable to posterity, because he cried down their superstition and idolatry. Except they perform this, we must still look upon this accusation as a mere calumny.

As for the works of this great man, we may affirm, there were few in his time who took so much pains to explain the Scripture, or to oppose themselves against the torrent of superstition.

He wrote three books upon Genesis, in the year 815. He made a commentary on St. Matthew, which he published the same year, dedicating it to Justus, Abbot of Charroux.

He published a commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, in the year 816, and dedicated it to Dructeramnus, a famous abbot, who had exhorted him to write comments upon all St. Paul's Epistles.

He wrote a commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, which he dedicated to Ludovicus Pius, who commanded him to comment upon St. Paul's Epistles; which dedicatory epistle of his has been published by Mabillon.

He made a commentary upon Exodus, in four books, which he published in the year 821, dedicating them to the Abbot Theodemirus.

He made also another on Leviticus, which he published in the year 823, and dedicated it to the same abbot. Oudin tells us, he hath seen a commentary of his on the book of Ruth, in a library in Hainault.

Of all these his works, there is nothing printed but his commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians. The monks of St. Germain have his commentary upon all his Epistles in MS. in two volumes, which were found in the library of the abbey of Fleury, near Orleans. They have also his MS. commentaries on Leviticus, which formerly belonged to the library of St. Remy, at Rheims. As for his commentary on St. Matthew, there are several MS. copies of it in England, as well as elsewhere.

We may judge in what credit and esteem the doctrine of Claudius was at that time, by the earnestness wherewith the Emperor Ludovicus Pius, and the most famous abbots of those times, pressed him to explain the holy Scripture in his writings. We may also conclude the same, from his being promoted to the episcopal dignity in a place where the superstition, in reference to images, obliged the emperor to provide them with a bishop that was both learned and vigorous; for Jonas of Orleans cannot dissemble, but that it was upon this very consideration, that the emperor made a particular choice of Claudius to be consecrated Bishop of Turin. Moreover, this see was not an ordinary bishopric, but a very considerable metropolis, in the diocese of Italy; but it was not till some time after, that the title of Archbishop was bestowed upon metropolitans.

The time wherein he was advanced to the episcopal dignity is not certainly known. Father Le Cointe conjectures, very probably, that it was in the year 817. But whether that be so or no, sure it is, that Claudius, in his illustration of the Scripture, plainly shewed himself to be very free from those errors, which at this day are in vogue in the Romish communion.

We need only read his commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, to assure us, that he every where asserts the equality of all the Apostles with St. Peter, though the occasions seemed naturally to engage him to establish the primacy of St. Peter, and that of his pretended successors. This we find in ten several passages of that commentary; he only declares the primacy of St. Peter to consist in the honour he had of founding the church both amongst the Jews and Gentiles, p. 810. And indeed every where throughout his writings he maintains, that Jesus Christ is the only Head of the Church.

He overthrows the doctrine of merits in such a manner, as overthrows all the nice distinctions of the Papists on that subject.

He pronounces anathemas against traditions in matters of religion:

so far was he from giving occasion to others to suspect, that he made them a part of the object of his faith, as the Church of Rome at present doth.

He maintains, that faith alone saves us, which is the point that so extremely provoked the Church of Rome against Luther, who asserted the same thing.

He holds the church to be subject to error, opposite to what at this day the Romanists pretend in so unreasonable a manner.

He denies, that prayers after death may be of any use to those that have demanded them.

He very smartly lashed the superstition and idolatry, which then began to be renewed, being supported by the authority of the Roman see.

These things we find in his commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians: but the other writings of this great man, manuscript and printed, shew us yet more of his mind. Indeed, we find him giving very public marks of his zeal for the purity of religion in several points. First, he proposeth the doctrine of the Church, in reference to the Eucharist, in a manner altogether conformable to the judgment of antiquity, following therein the most illustrious doctors of the Christian Church, and shewing that he was, as to that matter, at the farthest distance from the opinions which Paschasius Radbertus advanced eighteen or nineteen years after that Claudius had writ his commentary upon St. Matthew. Claudius's own words, as they were taken from a MS. of M. Theyer, are these:

Cœnantibus autem eis, accepit Jesus panem, et benedixit ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis, et ait, Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum. Finitis paschæ veteris solenniis, quæ in commemorationem antiquæ de Ægypto liberationis populi Dei agebantur, transiit ad novum, quod in suæ redemptionis memoriam Ecclesiam frequentare volebat: ut videlicet et pro carne agni ac sanguine sui corporis sanguinisque sacramentum substitueret, ipsumque se esse monstraret, cui juravit Dominus, et non pœnitebit eum, Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedec. Frangit autem ipse panem quem discipulis porrigit, ut ostendat corporis sui fractionem non absque sua

sponte ac procuratione venturam; sed sicut alibi dicit, potestatem se habere ponendi animam suam, et potestatem se habere iterum sumendi eam. Quem videlicet panem certi quoque gratia sacramenti, priusquam frangeret benedixit. Quia naturam humanam quam passurus assumpsit, ipse una cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto gratia divinæ virtutis implevit. Benedixit panem, et fregit, quia hominem assumptum ita morti subdere dignatus est, ut et divinæ immortalitatis veraciter inesse potentiam demonstraret. Ideoque velocius eum a morte resuscitandum esse doceret. Et accipiens calicem, gratias egit, et dedit illis, dicens, Bibite ex hoc omnes. Cum appropinquare passioni dicitur, accepto pane et calice, gratiam egisse perhibetur; gratias itaque egit qui flagella alienæ iniquitatis suscepit. Et qui nihil dignum percussionis exhibuit, humiliter in percussione benedixit. Ut hinc videlicet ostendat, quid unusquisque in flagello culpæ propriæ facere debeat: si ipse æquanimiter flagella culpæ portat alienæ; ut hinc ostendat, quid in correptione faciat subditus, si in flagello positus Patri gratias agit æqualis. Hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Qui panis corpus confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne; hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud refertur ad sanguinem. Verum quia et nos in Christo, et in nobis Christum manere oportet, vinum Dominici calicis aqua miscetur. Attestante enim Johanne, aquæ populi sunt. Et neque aquam solam, neque solum vinum, sicut nec granum frumenti solum sine admixtione aquæ et confectione, in panem cuiquam licet offerre, ne videlicet oblatio talis quasi caput a membro secernendum esse significet, et vel Christum sine nostræ redemptionis amore pati potuisse, vel nos sine illius passione salvari ac Patri offerri posse confingat. Quod autem dicit, Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti, ad distinctionem respicit veteris testamenti, quod hircorum et vitulorum est sanguine dedicatum; dicente inter aspergendum legislatore, Hic est sanguis testamenti, quod mandavit ad vos Deus. Necesse est enim exemplaria quidem verorum his mundari; ipsa autem cœlestia melioribus hostiis quam istis, juxta quod Apostolus per totam ad Hebræos Epistolam, inter Legem distinguens et Evangelium, pulcherrima expositione ac plenaria ratione declarat. Dico autem vobis, Non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum cum illud bibam vobiscum novum in regno Patris mei. Vitem sive vineam Domini appellatam esse synagogam, et omnis sparsim Scriptura et apertius testatur Isaias in cantico de illo cantato, Vinea, inquiens, Domini Sabaoth, domus Israel est. De qua nimirum vinea Dominus multo tempore bibebat, quamvis pluribus ramis in amaritudinem vitis alienæ conversis, quod tamen etsi multis in illa plebe exorbitantibus a recto fidei itinere, non defuere plurimi toto Legis tempore, quorum piis cogitationibus summisque virtutibus delectaretur Deus. Verum passo in carne Domino, ac resurgente a mortuis, tempus fuit ut legalis illa et figuralis observatio cessaret, atque ea quæ secundum literam gerebantur, in spiritalem translata sensum, melius in novum testamentum, juvante Sancti Spiritus gratia, tenerentur. Iturus igitur ad passionem Dominus ait, Jam non bibam de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum cum illud bibam vobiscum novum in regno Patris mei. Ac si aperte dicat, Non ultra carnalibus synagogæ ceremoniis delectabor, in quibus etiam ista paschalis agni sacra locum tenuere præcipuum : aderit enim tempus meæ resurrectionis : aderit dies ille cum ipse in regno Dei positus, id est, gloria vitæ immortalis sublimatus, de salute populi ejusdem fonte gratiæ spiritalis regenerati, novo vobiscum gaudio perfundar. Item quod ait, Non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis usque in diem illum cum illud bibam vobiscum novum in regno Patris mei, vult intelligi hoc vetus esse, cum illud novum dicit; quia ergo de propagine Adam, qui vetus homo appellatur, corpus susceperat, quod in passione morti traditurus erat : unde etiam per vini sacramentum commendat sanguinem suum, quid aliud novum vinum nisi immortalitatem renovatorum corporum intelligere debemus? Quod cum dicit, Vobiscum bibam, etiam ipsis resurrectionem corporum ad induendam immortalitatem promittit. Vobiscum enim non ad idem tempus, sed ad eandem innovationem dictum, accipiendum est. Nam et nos dicit Apostolus resurrexisse cum Christo, ut spe rei futuræ jam lætitiam præsentem afferat : quod autem de hoc genimine vitis etiam illud novum esse dicit, significat utique eadem corpora resurrectura secundum innovationem cœlestem, quæ nunc secundum vetustatem moritura sunt. Si hanc vitem de cujus vetustate nunc passionis calicem bibit, ipsos Judæos intellexeris, significatum est etiam ipsam

gentem ad corpus Christi per novitatem vitæ accessuram; cum ingressa plenitudine gentium, omnis Israel salvus fiet. Et hymno dicto exierunt in montem Oliveti; hoc est quod in Psalmo legimus, Edent pauperes, et saturabuntur; et laudabunt Dominum qui requirunt eum: Potest autem et hymnus etiam ille intelligi quem Dominus secundum Johannem Patri gratias agens decantabat, in quo et pro seipso, et pro discipulis, et pro eis qui per verbum eorum credituri erant, elevatis oculis sursum precabatur. Et pulchre discipulos sacramentis sui corporis ac sanguinis imbutos, et hymno piæ intercessionis Patri commendatos, in montem educit Olivarum, ut typice designet nos per acceptionem sacramentorum suorum, perque opem suæ intercessionis, ad altiora virtutum, ut carismate Sancti Spiritus in corde perungamur, conscendere debere.

"The Apostles being sate down at table, Jesus Christ took bread, blessed and brake it, and gave of it to his disciples, saying to them, Take this and eat it, this my body. The ancient ceremonies of the ancient Passover, which were used in memory of the deliverance of the people of Israel, being finished, he passeth on to the new, because he would have the same to be celebrated in his Church, in commemoration of the mystery of her redemption, and to substitute the Sacrament of his body and of his blood, instead of the flesh and blood of the paschal lamb, and to shew that it was he himself to whom God had sworn, and shall never repent of it; Thou art the eternal Priest according to the order of Melchizedeck. Moreover, he himself breaks the bread which he gives to his disciples, that he might represent and make it appear, that the breaking of his body would not be contrary to his inclination, or without his willingness to die: but, as he saith elsewhere, that he hath power to save his life, and to deliver it up himself, as well as to take it again, and raise himself from the dead. He blessed the bread before he brake it, to assure us, that he intended to make a Sacrament of it; and forasmuch as he had taken human nature upon him, that he might suffer, he with his Father and the Holy Spirit filled the same with the grace of a virtue which was altogether divine; and because he was pleased to submit the human nature he had taken upon him, to death, he would make it appear, that the said humanity was possessed of a true and natural power to raise itself: whereby he taught us, that the same would rise more readily from the dead. And taking up the cup, he gave thanks to his Father, and gave it them to drink, saying, Drink ye all of it. When he drew near to the time of his death and passion, it is said, that having taken the bread and the cup, he gave thanks to his eternal Father. He therefore who had taken upon him to expiate the iniquities of others, gave thanks to his Father, without having done any thing that was worthy of death: he blesseth it with a profound humility, at the very time that he saw himself loaden with stripes; without doubt to instruct us, what every one of us ought to do when we find ourselves lashed with the whip and sting of our conscience: for, if he who was innocent endured with meekness and tranquillity the stripes due to the iniquity of others; this was to teach and instruct us what he ought to do that is obnoxious, when he is corrected for his own transgressions. If he suffered with an equal mind the scourge due for the sins of others, this teaches us what a subject ought to do when under the Divine corrections; when he who is equal to the Father gave thanks to him when under his scourges: For this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for you all, for the remission of sin; because he assures us, that the bread becomes his body, and that the wine doth operate and produce his blood in the flesh. The bread represents to us his mystical body, and the wine is the symbol of his blood. But, because we must abide in Christ, and Christ must abide in us, we mingle water with the wine in the cup of the Lord. And, as St. John witnesseth, the people are water, and it is not permitted to any body to offer water alone, no more than the wine alone; in like manner as it is forbidden to offer the grains of wheat, without their being mingled with water, and so reduced to bread, for fear lest such an oblation might signify, that the Head ought to be separated from its members, and that Jesus Christ could have suffered, without an extreme love and desire of our redemption; or that this oblation did not give us ground to believe, that we might be saved, or offered up to his Father without the mystery of his passion. As for his saying, This is my blood of the New Testament, it is that we might make a distinction between the new covenant and the old, which was consecrated with the effusion of the blood of goats and oxen, as the Lawgiver said at the sprinkling of it; This is the blood of the covenant, which God has commanded you: for it is necessary that the patterns of true things should be purified by these; but that the heavenly places should be purified with more excellent sacrifices, according to what the Apostle St. Paul declares throughout his whole Epistle to the Hebrews, where he makes a distinction between the Law and the Gospel. He declares, by an excellent and ample explication, Verily, verily, this I say unto you, I will drink no more of the vine, till I shall drink it new in the kingdom of my Father. The whole Scripture openly declares, that the synagogue is called the vine of the Lord; the prophet Isaiah openly sets this forth in his song, where he speaks of it in these words; The house of Israel is the Lord's vine. It is indeed of this vine that the Lord drank large draughts, though many branches thereof were infected with the bitterness of a strange vine; and though, in the mean time, many of the people are gone astray from the true way of the faith, yet there were still found a great many, during the whole time of the law, who glorified God by their holy and godly thoughts, and by the practice of their heroical virtues. But Jesus Christ having suffered in the flesh that was capable of suffering, and being raised from the dead, the time is come that hath put an end to these legal and figurative observations: all those things that were observed according to the letter, have been changed into a spiritual sense, and have been confirmed in the New Testament by the grace of the Holy Ghost. Jesus Christ then going to suffer, saith, I shall drink no more of this juice of the vine, until the day that I shall drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father. As if he had plainly said, I will no longer take delight in the carnal ceremonies of the synagogue, amongst the number of which the great festival of the paschal lamb was one of the chiefest; for this shall be the time of my resurrection; that very day I shall be lifted up to the kingdom of heaven, that is to say, to the kingdom of a new life of immortality; I shall be filled, together with you, with a new joy for the salvation of my people, which shall be born again in the spring, of one and the same grace. In like manner also, when he saith, I shall not drink of this juice of the vine, until the day that I shall drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father, he would be understood of the Old Testament, when he calls it the new: and therefore since he had taken a body from the family of Adam, who is called the old man, and that this his body was now to be exposed to death; it is for this reason that by the sacrament of wine he recommends to us his blood. What are we to understand by this new wine, but the immortality of our renewed bodies? For when he saith, I will drink it with you, he promiseth to them also the resurrection of their bodies, in order to their being clothed with immortality. For this word *vobiscum* (with you) must not be taken as spoken of the same time, but as importing that the disciples should, in time to come, be renewed, as well as he. For doth not the Apostle say, that we are all raised again with Christ, that our future resurrection might afford us present joy? And whereas he saith, of this juice of the vine, and calls it also new, this for certain signifies, that the same bodies must be raised again, according to the rules of an altogether heavenly renovation, though at present they must die, according to the old man. If you understand the Jews by this vine, from the oldness of which he at present now drinks the cup of his passion; it hath also been signified to us, that that nation must approach to the body of Jesus Christ by the change of a new life: The whole house of Israel shall be saved, together with all its company, which shall enter with them. After they had sung an hymn, they went to the mount of Olives. This is that which we read in the Psalmist, The poor shall eat and be filled; and they that seek the Lord shall praise him. This hymn may be also understood, according to the account St. John gives of it, to be that which Jesus Christ sang, when he gave thanks to his eternal Father, wherein he prayed for himself, for his disciples, and for all those who should believe at their preaching. And it is not without cause that he leads his disciples to the mount of Olives, after having fed them with the sacraments of his body and his blood, and after his having recommended them to his Father by the hymn of a tender intercession; to inform us, without doubt, that it is by receiving of the sacraments, and by the assistance of his prayer, that we must come to the possession of heroical virtues, and that it is by this means alone, that we shall receive in our hearts the unctions of the Holy Spirit."

We find by this extract, that he followed the notions of the primitive church closely on this subject, and that the church which bordered upon the mountains of the Alps did not entertain any opinions like those of Paschasius. We ought to observe here, as a thing natural and obvious, that if he endured some contradiction upon other articles, yet he never was impleaded about that of the Eucharist; which shews that that truth, at that time, was yet in possession of its own rights, and that those who quarrelled with him about other articles, as Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, Dungalus, and the Abbot Theodemirus, were of his opinion about the matter of the Eucharist. For seeing his commentary upon St. Matthew was published in the year 815, and that Theodemirus continued still his friend in 823, pressing him to write on the Old Testament, it is evident, that till then nothing had interrupted the good correspondence that was between them.

Mabillon has published an extract from the end of his work upon Leviticus, dedicated to Abbot Theodemirus, which shews the great care that he took to withdraw those of his diocese from the hankering they had after the worship of creatures, and the troubles and crosses he had met with from those who were willing to defend their superstitions.

" Because you have commanded me to write these things, I have undertaken it, not as for your instruction, but for your satisfaction. But it is your duty to judge of it with more truth, and to stir up yourself, by your examples, to the practice of a true charity, which is the most excellent of all virtues. And I assure myself, that I may more easily attain to the possession of that virtue by means of your prayers, than by any strength of my own. See here, my dear brother, what I have here answered, as well as I could, to certain demands you have made of me. And I earnestly desire you on this occasion, that if you have discovered, or can find for time to come, any thing better, concerning the things about which you command me to write unto you, we shall take it very kindly, if you shall be pleased to communicate the same to us; for I am naturally more inclined to learn, than to teach others. For this beauty of the eternal truth and wisdom (God grant I may always have a constant will to enjoy her, for the love of whom we have also undertaken this work) doth not exclude those that come unto her, because of the great number of hearers she hath; she grows not old by length of time; she minds not places; she does not suffer herself to be overtaken by night; she does not shut up herself in shadows, and doth not expose herself to our bodily senses: she is near unto all those that turn themselves to her from all parts of the world, and who love her indeed; she is eternal to all; she is not limited by any places, she is every where; she advertiseth abroad, she instructs within, she changes and converts those that behold her; she doth not suffer herself to be violated by any person; no man can judge of her, nobody can judge well without her. In this idea of my faith, I separate all change and alteration from eternity; and in this eternity I discover no space of time, for the spaces of time are made up of future and past motions of things: now there is nothing past or future in eternity; for that which passeth, ceaseth to be; and that which is to come, has not yet begun to be: but as for eternity, it is that which is always present, nor ever has been, so as not to be present still; nor ever shall be, but so as still to continue present; because it is she alone that can say to the spirit of man, It is I who am the Lord; and it is of her alone we can say with truth, He who is eternal has sent me.

“ And since this is the case, we are not commanded to go to the creature, that we may be happy, but to the Creator, who alone can constitute our bliss; of whom, if we entertain other opinions than we ought to have, we involve ourselves in a very pernicious error. For as long as we shall endeavour to come to that which is not, or which, supposing it to be, yet doth not make us happy, we shall never be able to arrive at a happy life. A man doth not become happy because another is so; but when a man imitates another, that he may become such as he is, he desires immediately to become happy by the same means he finds another is become so, that is, by the enjoyment of this universal and unchangeable truth. Neither can a man become prudent by the prudence of another, or valiant by the valour, or temperate by the temperance, or just by the justice of another; but by forming and fashion-ing his mind by the immutable rules and splendours of those virtues, which, without alteration, shine forth in this common universal truth and wisdom : in imitation of whom, he formed and squared his manners, whom we propose to ourselves as a pattern to imitate, and whom we look upon as a living copy of that eternal wisdom. Our will fastening itself, and cleaving to this unchangeable and common good, affords the first and great good things man is capable of, because she is a certain mean good. But when the will of man separates itself from this unchangeable and common good, and seeks her own particular good, or directs herself to any outward or inferior good, she sins."

After this he quotes an excellent passage of St. Austin, from his treatise concerning the True Religion. " Wherefore we owe no religious worship to those who are departed this life, because they have lived religiously ; we must not look upon them as persons that require our adorations and homage, but they desire that he may be worthy of our respect, by whom they being enlightened, rejoice to see us made partakers of their piety. We must therefore honour them, because they deserve to be imitated ; but we must not worship them with an act of religion. And if they have lived wickedly, we do not owe them any respect at all, in what part soever of the world they be. That then which is honoured by the highest angel must also be honoured by the lowest of men, because the nature of man is become the lowest, for not having honoured him. For an angel takes not his wisdom elsewhere than man does. The truth of an angel and that of a man are both derived from the same fountain, that is, from one and the same eternal Truth and Wisdom. For by a pure effect of that eternal Wisdom it comes to pass, that the power of God, and that unchangeable Wisdom consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father, hath vouchsafed, in order to the accomplishment of the adorable mystery of our salvation, to take our human nature upon him, that he might teach us, that we owe our adorations to him who alone deserves to be worshipped by all intelligent and rational creatures. We ought also to believe, that those good angels, which are the most excellent ministers of God, would have us to worship one only God together with them, by the alone vision of whom they are happy. For we are not happy in beholding the angels, neither can that vision ever make us so; but we shall be happy by beholding the Truth, by means of which we love the angels, and congratulate them. Neither do we envy their happiness, because they are more active than we, and because they enjoy the vision of God, without being molested with any trouble; but rather love them so much the more, because our hope puts us upon expecting something answerable to these their excellencies, from him who is the God of us both. Wherefore we honour them with our charitable respects, but not like slaves: we build no temples to them, neither will they be honoured by us in any such manner, because they know that we, whilst we are good, are the temples of the living God." After his quoting of this passage, see how he concludes his work.

"These things are the highest and strongest mysteries of our faith, and characters most deeply imprinted in our hearts. In standing up for the confirmation and defence of which truth, I am become a reproach to my neighbours to that degree, that those who see us do not only scoff at us, but point at us, one to another: but God, the father of mercies, and author of all consolations, has comforted us in all our afflictions, that we might be able, in like manner, to comfort those that are pressed with sorrow and affliction: we rely upon the protection of Him who has armed and fortified us with the armour of righteousness and of faith, which is the tried shield for our eternal salvation."

He seems, in these words, to allude to the complaints that had been made against him, at Ludovicus Pius's court, for having broke down images throughout his diocese, and for writing, in defence of himself, a treatise against the adoration of images, the worship of saints, pilgrimages, the worship of relics, with other such like superstitions. And since the cruel diligence of the inquisitors has destroyed this piece, we must guess at the time wherein he wrote it, from the account his adversaries give us thereof, viz. Theodemirus, Dungalus, and Jonas of Orleans, and search in their books for his true opinions, and the arguments he made use of against the defenders of superstition.

Dungalus wrote, in the year 828, as appears clearly from what he mentions of the decree passed in Ludovicus Pius's palace, after the assembly of Paris, in the year 825, about the matter of images, as a thing which happened two years before. In his book he accuseth Claudius for taking upon him, after eight hundred and twenty years and more, to reprove those things that were passed in continual use, as if there had been none before him that ever had any zeal for religion; from whence it is evident, that Claudius wrote since the year 820. It seems, indeed, as if he had answered the Abbot Theodemirus, after the year 823, who had intimated to him the offence that was taken at his behaviour and opinions, which he did so effectually, as not to have any need to write another treatise upon the same subject.

However, it is Dungalus himself who has preserved the extracts of the apologetical answer, which Claudius made about that time, to the Abbot Theodemirus; which apologetic he begins in this manner: "I have received," saith he to Theodemirus, "by a particular bearer thy letter, with the articles, wholly stuffed with babbling and fooleries. You declare, in these articles, that you have been troubled that my fame was spread, not only throughout all Italy, but also in Spain, and elsewhere; as if I had formerly, and still do preach a new sect, contrary to the rules of the ancient Catholic faith, which is most absolutely false: neither is it any wonder at all, if the members of Satan talk of me at this rate, who have also called our Head a deceiver, one that hath a devil, &c. For I teach no new sect, as keeping myself to the pure truth, preaching and publishing nothing but that; but on the contrary, as far as in me lies, I have repressed, opposed, cast down, and destroyed, and do still repress, oppose, and destroy, to the utmost of my power, all sects, schisms, superstitions, and heresies; and shall never cease so to do, by the assistance of God, as far as I am able: for since it is expressly said, Thou shalt not make to thyself the resemblance of any thing, either in heaven or on earth, &c. this is not alone to be understood of the images and resemblances of strange gods, but also of those of celestial creatures."

"These kind of people, against whom we have undertaken to defend the church of God, tell us, If thou write upon the wall, or drawest the images of Peter or of Paul, of Jupiter, Saturn, or of Mercury; neither are the one of these gods, nor the other apostles, and neither the one nor the other of them are men, and therefore the name is changed: and in the mean time, both then and now, the same ever continues still. Surely, if we ought to worship them, we ought rather to worship them alive, than as thou hast represented them, as the portraitures of beasts, or (what is yet more true) of stone or wood, which have neither life, nor feeling, nor reason: for if we may neither worship nor serve the works of God's hand, how much less may we worship the works of men's hands, and adore them in honour of those whose resemblances we say they are? for if the image you worship is not God, (for not only he who serves and honours visible images, but also whatsoever creature else, whether heavenly or earthly, whether spiritual or corporal, he serves the same instead of God, and from it he looks for the salvation of his soul, which he ought to look for from God alone, and is of the number of those, of whom the Apostle saith, that they worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator,) wherefore dost thou bow to false images, and wherefore like a slave dost thou bend thy body to pitiful shrines, and to the work of men's hands?

“ But mark what the followers of the false religion and superstition do allege: they say, it is in commemoration and in honour of our Saviour, that we serve, honour, and adore the cross, whom nothing pleaseth in our Saviour, but that which was pleasing to the ungodly, viz. the reproach of his passion, and the token of his death. They witness hereby, that they perceive only of him what the wicked saw and perceived of him, whether Jews or Heathens, who do not see his resurrection, and do not consider him, but as altogether swallowed up of death, without minding what the Apostle saith, We know Jesus Christ no longer according to the flesh.

“ God commands one thing, and these people do quite the contrary; God commands us to bear our cross, and not to worship it; but these are all for worshipping it; whereas they do not bear it all, neither will they bear it either corporally or spiritually; to serve God after this manner is to go a whoring from him. For if we ought to adore the cross, because Christ was fastened to it, how many other things are there which touched Jesus Christ, and which he made according to the flesh? Did not he continue nine months in the womb of the virgin? Why do not they then on the same score, worship all that are virgins, because a virgin brought forth Jesus Christ? Why do not they adore mangers and old clouts, because he was laid in a manger, and wrapped in swaddling clothes? Why do not they adore fisher-boats, because he slept in one of them, and preached to the multitudes, and caused a net to be cast out, wherewith was caught a miraculous quantity of fish? Let them adore asses, because he entered into Jerusalem upon the foal of an ass; and lambs, because it is is written of him, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world. But these sort of men would rather eat live lambs than worship their images. Why do not they worship lions, because he is called the Lion of the tribe of Judah? or rocks, because it is said, And the Rock was Christ? or thorns, because he was crowned with them? or lances, because one of them pierced his side?

" All these things are ridiculous, rather to be lamented than set forth in writing: but we are forced to set them down, in opposition to fools, and to declaim against those hearts of stone, whom the arrows and sentences of the word of God cannot pierce; and therefore we are fain to fling such stones at them. Come to yourselves again, ye miserable transgressors; why are you gone astray from truth, and why, being become vain, are ye fallen in love with vanity? Why do you crucify again the Son of God, and expose him to open shame; and by this means make souls by troops to become the companions of devils, estranging them from their Creator by the horrible sacrilege of your images and likenesses, and precipitating them into everlasting damnation?

" And as for your reproaching me, that I hinder men from running in pilgrimage to Rome; I will first demand of you yourself, whether thou knowest, that to go to Rome is to repent or do penance? If it be so indeed, why then hast thou for so long a time damned so many souls, whom thou hast kept up in thy monastery, and whom thou hast taken into it, that they might there do penance, obliging them to serve thee, instead of sending them to Rome, if it be so that the way to do penance be to go to Rome, and yet thou hast hindred them? What have you to say against this sentence, That whosoever shall lay a stone of stumbling before any of these little ones, it were better for him that a millstone were hung about his neck, and he cast into the bottom of the sea?

"We know very well, that this passage of the Gospel is very ill understood; Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: under the pretence of which words the stupid and ignorant common people, destitute of all spiritual knowledge, betake themselves to Rome, in hopes of acquiring eternal life: for the ministry does belong to all the true superintendants and pastors of the church, who discharge the same, as long as they are in this world; and when they have paid the debt of death, others succeed in their places, who enjoy the same authority and power.

"Return, O ye blind, to your light; return to him who enlightens every man that cometh into the world: all of you, as many as you be, who do not keep only to this light, you walk in darkness, and know not whither you go; for the darkness has put out your eyes. If we must believe God when he promiseth, how much more when he swears, and saith, that if Noah, Daniel and Job were in it, (that is, if the saints whom you call upon were endowed with as great holiness, as great righteousness, and as much merit, as these were,) they shall neither deliver son nor daughter: and it is for this end he makes this declaration, viz. that none might put their confidence either in the merits or the intercession of saints. Understand ye this, ye people without understanding? Ye fools, when will ye be wise? ye who run to Rome, to seek there for the intercession of an Apostle. What think you would St. Augustin say of you, whom we have already so often quoted," &c.

"The fifth thing you reproach me for is, that it displeaseth thee that the Apostolic Lord (for so you are pleased to call the late Pope Paschal, deceased) had honoured me with this charge; but forasmuch as the word *Apostolicus dicitur quasi Apostoli custos,* may intimate as much as the Apostle's keeper, know thou, that he only is apostolic, who is the keeper and guardian of the Apostle's doctrine, and not he who boasts himself to be seated in the chair of the Apostle, and in the mean time doth not acquit himself of the charge of the Apostles; for the Lord saith, that the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's chair."

Now, because Jonas of Orleans had no other extracts out of the book of Claudius, besides those that had been already refuted by Dungalus, a recluse of the abbey of St. Denys, therefore he confines himself to refute the same opinions of Claudius, which he did only in the year 840, about a year after Claudius's death; whereupon I desire the reader to consider, first, that notwithstanding Dungalus and Jonas did both write by the order of kings, and that they make mention of a condemnation of Claudius, passed in the palace, yet nothing of all this was able to shake the reputation of Claudius. He wrote against all these superstitions from the year 823, and did not die till the year 839; so that for sixteen years together he was only set upon by some particular persons, by an obscure and recluse monk, who was a stranger to France, and who probably, being an Italian, took part with the Church of Rome, at that time engaged for the worshippers of idols.

Secondly, That the Fathers of the Assembly of Paris, in the year 825, had justified most of the principles maintained by Claudius, this great man having been only engaged to carry the matter farther than they; for being nearer to the diocese of Rome, he saw the danger so much the nearer, in which his flock were of falling into idolatry.

Thirdly, That to go to the bottom of the matter, Agobardus, Archbishop of Lyons, pushed that point as far as Claudius himself; as appears from his treatise against pictures. It is a pleasure to see how Father Raynaud torments himself to justify Agobardus, whom the Church of Lyons honours as a saint, though he has made use of the same arguments that Claudius did, and given large testimonies of his being as vigorous an *iconoclast* as ever Claudius was. We may therefore assert, without rashness, that either all the fetches of Baronius and of F. Raynaud are not sufficient to keep Agobardus in the martyrology of Lyons; or, that they serve very profitably, at the same time, to enrol Claudius in that of the Church at Turin, as a most holy and most illustrious Bishop, because of his doctrine, his ardent piety, and the great care he took to oppose the spirit of superstition, which reigned so much at that time.

Fourthly, After all, we may say, that neither Dungalus nor Jonas of Orleans maintained the opinion of the Church of Rome that was then: Jonas makes mention of the Pope's party, as a party not wholly cut off from the communion of the Church; but his expressions are so sharp, that it appears he had little better opinion of them. They condemn all manner of worship of images, and stick close to the decisions of Francfort, in the year 794, and of Paris, 826, which were diametrically opposite to the definitions of the *iconolatræ,* or worshippers of images, and to the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome, who had admitted of them.

It was worth our while to take notice of these opinions of Claudius, and of the manner of his reforming his diocese, that we might make it appear, that he laid solid principles of the Reformation in these parts, as to several points. And this was the more necessary, because the Papists, at Genebrard, in his Chronology, and Rorenco, have owned that the valleys of Piedmont, which did belong to the bishopric of Turin, preserved the opinions of Claudius in the ninth and tenth century."

# N°. IV.

## *Factum of the Court of Savoy.*

In consequence of the general indignation expressed by the Protestant states of Europe, upon receiving intelligence of the dreadful massacre committed upon the Vaudois in 1655, the Duke of Savoy thought it necessary, in justification of his conduct towards his subjects of the reformed religion, to publish a statement of the transactions, which took place in the valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, in the year 1655.

This narrative was printed in Italian, French, and Latin, under the title of " *The Factum of the Court of Savoy* ;" and although it endeavoured to make out a favourable case for the duke's government, and charged the Vaudois with bringing all the mischief upon themselves, yet it acknowledged quite enough to shew, that the atrocities complained of, had really been perpetrated. Never was such a medley of contradiction and improbabilities put together!

The following pages contain the Italian version of this curious state paper, with an English translation. The original is to be found in volume O, of the Cambridge Manuscripts.

### Relatione de Successi seguiti nella Valle di Luserna, nell' anno 1655.

Sua Altezza Reale li. 25, di Gennaio 1655, comandò a' suoi Sudditi della Religione pretesa riformata,

### A Narrative of the several Transactions in the Valley of Lucerna, in the Year 1655.

His Royal Highness, upon the 25th of January, 1655, commanded his subjects of the pretended re-

mediante un' ordine dell' Auditore Gastaldo di ritirarsi frà tré giorni, sotto pena della Vita nella Valle, e finaggi d' Angrogna, e nelle Terre di Rorata, Villaro, e Bobbio con suoi borghi, abandonando l'habitatione, e beni nelle altre Terre della detta Valle, con facoltà però di vendergli, tutto che fossero detti beni confiscati per essersi acquistati contro l' espressa dispositione de gl' ordini. Della giustitia di questo comando, che è il fondamento di tutto, si da una scrittura à parte, per non render questa soverchiamente prolissa.

Ubbidirono li predetti della religione pretesa riformata à detto ordine ritirandosi, e nel medemo tempo mandarano à ricorrere à S. A. R. rimostrandole esser detto ordine contrario alle loro concessioni, e supplicandola di volerlo rivocare.

Fù loro per parte di S. A. R. risposto esser l' ordine, conforme alla giustitia, et alla dispositione de precedenti, con tuttociò si contentava sentir quello, c'havessero potuto allegar contro d' esso, e far

formed religion, by virtue of an order of his Auditor Gastaldo, to transport themselves, within three days, upon pain of death, into the valley and confines of Angrogna, the lands of Rorata, Villaro, Bobbio, and the villages thereunto belonging, and to quit their habitations, and the goods which they possessed in other parts of the said valley; nevertheless they had liberty to sell those goods, although they were confiscated, (as having been purchased contrary to the express order.) The justice of which command, which is indeed the ground of all the rest, we have made appear, by another writing apart, to avoid prolixity in this.

In obedience to this command, those of the pretended reformed religion, did accordingly retire within the limits prescribed; and at the same time they sent deputies to his royal highness, declaring this command to be contrary to the ancient concessions granted to them, and petitioning that it might be revoked.

His royal highness' answer to them was, that this order was conformable both to justice and the intent of the former concessions. Yet, nevertheless, that he was graciously inclined to hear what

loro anche qualche gratia, ogni qual volta havessero mandati à Torino deputati provisti di procura in buona forma, e legale, coi quali doppo l' esame delle concessioni potesse stabilirsi ciò, che si haveva à fare, e recevendo essi gratie da S. A. R. prometessero validimente l' osservanza delle conditioni apposte ad esse gratie; avertendogli però di non disubbidir intanto, e di non retornar ne' luoghi già abandonati.

L'istesso fù loro replicato da diversi ministri, dal corpo d' una intiera congregatione composta de principali consiglieri de stato, e di giustitia, e dal Marchese di Pianezza in voce, ed in iscritto con una longa lettera, nelle quale gli esortava à non lasciar dimandar i loro deputati con tal procura, e di più il Conte Christoforo di Luserna espresse loro (come ne teneva ordine) le gratie, che S. A. R. voleva loro accordare.

they could allege to the contrary; and, moreover, that he would be yet favourable to them, in case they would send deputies to Turin, furnished with letters of procuration, drawn up in a due and legal form, with whom the concessions might be examined, in order that whatsoever should be found equitable, might be concluded and ratified; and provided that, in receiving these favours from his royal highness, they should promise inviolably to observe the conditions annexed thereunto; and in the mean time they were warned not to be disobedient, or return to the places which they had then abandoned.

This was repeated by different ministers of state, and members of committee constituted for that very end and purpose, consisting of the chief counsellors of state, and of justice, as also by the Marquess of Pianezza, partly by word of mouth, and partly by a long letter, in which he exhorted them not to neglect sending deputies with such letters of procuration; and, in addition to all this, Christophoro, Count of Lucerna, (as he was commanded) expressly declared to them the favours that his royal highness would be inclined to accord.

Ricusarono però essi sempre di mandar dette procure in buona forma, e diverse volte mandarono deputati, ma con procure non ricevute da notaio, ed invalid; essendo persuasi de alcuni seditiosi e capi della rebellione di non mettersi à segno d' aggiustar cosa nissuna, che secondo la dispositione delle concessioni di loro AA. RR. fosse ad essi fatta conoscer necessaria, e di non disputar del puonto dell' habitatione in modo che se si fosse fatto conoscer esser ingiusta la loro pretensione potessero restar impegnati a dipartirsene.

Nell' istesso tempo scrissero ad alcuni stati stranieri, chiamando loro consiglio di ciò, che dovessero fare in questo caso, e trà gli altri scrissero a ministri di Geneva, et acclusero nelle loro lettere altre indirizzate a' direttori di quella città sopra l' istesso soggetto.

Risposero i ministri di Geneva, il loro parere esser, che ricorresero più, e più volte à S. A. R. per ottener la rivocatione di dett'

Notwithstanding, they still refused to send letters of procuration in due form: on the contrary, they often sent deputies with letters, that had never so much as passed through the hands of a notary, and therefore invalid, and followed the advice of certain seditious persons, who were ringleaders in the rebellion, and who urged them not to come up to an accommodation in any thing, though they knew the same to be necessary according to the true meaning of the concessions of their royal highnesses : and not to bring in question the point of habitation, lest they should be compelled to quit their pretensions, in case they should be convinced, that what they demanded, was unjust.

At the very same time, they wrote letters to foreign states, desiring their counsel, and to know how they ought to conduct themselves in this business. Amongst others, they wrote to the ministers of Geneva, and inclosed also other letters to the magistrates of that city, to the same purpose.

The answer of the ministers of Geneva was, That if they would be guided by them, they would continue their petitions to his royal

ordine, e quando ben fossero ributtati, non lassiassero di novamente ricorrere, ma alla fine se non potevano ottenere cos' alcuna, ubbidissero al loro sourano.

Aggionsero, che per non mettergli in colpa, non havevano recapitate le lettre loro a' direttori di quella città, con queste formali parole, *Ne vobis vitio vertatur*. Un solo de' ministri di Geneva, rispondendo al ministro della Perosa, fu di contrario parere; e disse, che bisognava mostrar i denti al lupo.

Di tutto questo costa per l' autentico processo formato, e per le depositioni de' prigioni esaminati giuridicamente, che S. A. R. si offerisce di far vedere ovunque sio bisogno.

Da che si può raccogliere quanto sia falso il supposto, che l' ordine de' 25, di Gennaio predetto, riguardasse la religione, e conscienza loro, mentre gli stessi ministri di Geneva gli consigliavano d' osservarlo.

highness, for the obtaining of a revocation of the said orders; and though they suffered a repulse, yet that they should not desist from renewing them. And, if after all, they could obtain nothing, they should nevertheless obey their sovereign.

They added moreover this, That they had not delivered their letters directed to the magistrates of that city, lest it should act to their prejudice, (this was their very expression, *Ne vobis vitio vertatur.)* And of these ministers, there was but one of the contrary opinion; who, in a letter of his, told the minister of Perosa, that this was the time to shew their teeth to the wolf.

All which appears by the authorized process made, and by the depositions of the prisoners, who were legally examined, which also his royal highness offers to make evident, whenever there shall be occasion.

From whence it may be gathered, how falsely it is supposed, that the orders of the 25th of January aforesaid, had respect either to their religion or consciences, since even the ministers of Geneva themselves advised them to yield obedience to the same.

Fecero indi un' assemblea generale gli habitanti delle predette valli, nella quale intervennero quelle di S. Martino, e della Perosa: si mise il negotio in consulta, li lessero le lettere, mostrarono tutti in essa, massime però quelli di S. Martino, e della Perosa, che furono con alcuni particolari i principali istigatori à questa ribellione, d' haver molto minor rispetto per il suo principe naturale, che i ministri di Geneva per il Duca di Savoia.

Conclusero pertanto di non ubbidir mai à tal ordine, di prender le armi sempre, che si pretendesse d' obligargli à non ritornar nelle case abbandonate, di non vendere ad alcun Cattolico verun fondo degli acquistati illecitamente fuori de' limiti, e di maltratare chiunque parlasse in contrario, ò trattasse di farsi Cattolico; sopra di ciò prestarono un giuramento universale, et i ministri vi aggiunsero una scommunica per chi vendesse beni à Cattolici.

After this, the inhabitants of the said valleys appointed and held a general assembly, in which were present the inhabitants of St. Martino and Perosa, who, with the rest, consulted upon the subject (and the letters were openly read.) And the truth is, that the whole assembly, but especially those of St. Martino and Perosa, with some of the chief incendiaries of this rebellion, did give sufficient proof, that their respect towards their own natural prince, was much inferior to that of the ministers of Geneva towards the Duke of Savoy.

In short, their decision was, never to yield obedience to any such order, and that arms should be taken up if they should be forbidden to return to their houses, (which now they had quitted,) that the estates by them unlawfully purchased, beyond the prefixed limits, should not be sold to any Catholic whatsoever, and that those should be severely punished, who should openly advise to the contrary, or should shew the least inclination to turn Catholics. For the ratification of which, they all took a solemn oath, and the ministers added an act of excommunication, against all those who should sell their estates to Catholics.

Ciò fatto continuando essi sempre le negotiationi per il particolare delle procure, come se la loro risolutione non fosse stata di dare in una aperta ribellione, se ne ritornarono di propria autorità ne' posti prohibiti con tanto sprezzo dell' autorità di S.A.R quanto non si può bastantemente esprimere.

Non lasciò però l' A. S. R. di patientare ancor qualche giorni, e di far loro rimostrare da alcuni de' Conte di Luserna l' errore, che facevano, e la necessità di ripararlo, ma fù il tutto in vano, onde risolse la medema Altezza di mandare il Marchese di Pianezza con circa 500, fanti d' ordinanza, e qualche militia, e 200 cavalli, non tanto per mortificarli con tal alloggio (benche non eccessivo) quanto per vedere se si potevano ridurre, negotiando per mancamento di procure con i medemi agenti delle communità, à qualche stabilimento, e sodisfattione del giusto, e del principe.

Nel medesimo tempo, che partì da Torino il Marchese, vennero i deputati delle valli in detta città

This being done, they returned upon their own authority into the places prohibited, (notwithstanding, that they still negotiated by deputations, as if they had had no intention at all to break out into an open rebellion,) and that with such, and so great contempt of his royal highness' authority, as cannot sufficiently be expressed.

His royal highness did indeed suffer this patiently for several days together, and ordered certain persons of the county of Lucerna, to remonstrate with them on their error, and on the necessity of correcting it. But finding all in vain, his highness resolved to send the Marquess of Pianezza thither, with 500 foot, of the regular troops, some of the militia, and 200 horse, not so much to punish them by quartering upon them the said army, (which was not however very numerous) but to see whether even without the letters of procuration, those affairs might yet be settled with the same deputies, and be brought to such an accommodation as might satisfy both justice and the sovereign.

Now at the same time that the Marquess of Pianezza set out from Turin, there came to the said city, con una nuova procura, ma non differente essentialmente dalle già rifiutate come invalide, a ricorre non istra ordinario ardire, come se non fossero già stati constituiti colla disubbidienza in reato, e come se non havessero fatta la risolutione ch' havevano fatta, e non volessero far altro, che burlarsi.

Tutto ciò non ostante, non furono ritenuti à Torino (benche si fosse potuto senza mancare à passaporti dati loro, che non erano validi, dal tempo, che essi havevano formalmente disubbidito) ma furono rimandati in pace à Luserna, e rimessi al Marchese de Pianezza, che s'incaminava à quella volta, il quale etiando nella giornata, che fece da Lombriasco alla Torre, si offerì ancora loro per mezzo del Conte, e Prior Rorengo de Signori di detta valle di sentirgli, e portarsi ad ogni ragionevol ripiego, come costa dalle lettere scritte scambievolmente sopra questo negotio, ma non comparue alcuno da lui, anzi ministri fecero sparger bigletti per tutta la valle, che dicevano, ch' era tempo all' hora di prender tutti le armi, è far ciò che havevano promesso.

the deputies of the valleys, with new letters of procuration, but not essentially differing from those that had been already rejected as invalid, and that as boldly, as if they had not been already convicted of any disobedience, and as if they had made no such resolution as is above specified, and in a word, as if they intended to make no other than a sport of the business.

Notwithstanding all which, they were not detained at Turin (which truly might have been done without any infringement of the passport given them, as being of no force from the time of so formal a disobedience), but they were sent back in peace to Lucerna, their negotiation being referred to the Marquess Pianezza, who, while he was yet upon his journey thither, between Lombriasco and La Torre, signified by the Count and Prior Rorengo of the said valley, that he would favourably hear them, and incline to all reasonable expedients for accommodating these affairs, as appears by several reciprocal letters; but yet there was not one man that appeared before the said marquess; nay, on the contrary, their ministers caused papers to be dispersed through-

Giunto il Marchese de Pianezza à due miglia di lontananza del Borgo di S. Gio. e poco più dalla Torre inviô un homo solo accompagnato da un paesano con un' ordine in iscritto per parte di S. A. R. à detti due luoghi d' allogiar ciascuno 300 circa fanti, e qualche cavalli.

S. Gio. si trovò dishabitato, e li habili al porto d' armi con molti di tutte le altre terre, ed etiandio di S. Martino, e della Perosa si erano portati alla Torre, ove si trovò buon numero di moschettieri.

Presentato dunque l' ordine alla Torre fù risposto, che ben sapeva il Marchese di Pianezza, ch' essi stavano alla Torre contro gli ordini di S. A. R. e che però era superfluo mandar loro ordini d' alloggio, per parte della medema altezza, e cosi gettarono con dispregiovol modo verso il mandato il detto ordine, e accostandosi dopò qualche tempo il Marchese di Piannezza colle truppe, le salu-

out the whole valley, proclaiming that it was now high time for all to take up arms, according to their former engagement.

The Marquess of Pianezza having arrived within two miles of S. Giovanni, (and not much farther from La Torre), sent only a single person, who was accompanied with a peasant, with written orders from his royal highness to the places above-said, to prepare quarters, each of them for about 300 foot, and some horse.

The houses in S. Giovanni were at this time all uninhabited, all those who were fit to carry arms, with many others of all the other villages, particularly those of San Martino and Perosa, having already transported themselves to La Torre, where they had a very considerable number of musqueteers.

This order being presented to them at La Torre, their answer was, that the Marquess of Pianezza knew well enough that they were now at La Torre, contrary to the command of his royal highness, and that therefore it was superfluous to send them his said highness' orders for the quartering of soldiers, and with this they threw the said order, in a contemptuous manner, at the messen-

torono con buone moschettate, onde egli faciendo dare le medeme truppe, s' impadronì per forza del luogo con pochissimo sangue, e se ne fuggirono i ribelli al favor della notte, e della montagna, senza esser ne anche seguitati.

Loggiarono indi tutte le truppe in detta Torre, alla quale però non si fece maggior male di quello sogliono fare, etiandio gli amici, quando in corpo grosso si mettono in un villagio, che si trova dishabitato, che è servirsi delle cose, che vi sono: i suoi Borgi però, che continuarono le ostilità sino à mandar per molti giorni moschettieri per la Montagna ad attacare il quartiero maggiore della Torre, furono conquistati colla forza, e saccheggiati. Onde fù il marchese necessitato di rinforzarsi, come fece con alcuni reggimenti gionti in Piemonte dell' armata Francese.

ger who brought it; after which, when the Marquess of Pianezza advanced towards them with his troops, they saluted him with a volley of musquet-shot, and forced him to give the word to those troops, who rendered themselves masters of the place in a very short time, but with the effusion of little or no blood; while the rebels, with the advantage of the night, and the mountains, fled without being at all pursued.

The soldiers then took up their quarters in the said La Torre, to which they did no other hurt or damage, than an army of friends are wont to do, when they come in a great body into a village forsaken by the inhabitants, which was, to make use of what they there found. The neighbouring villages, which continued acts of hostility, and which for several days together sent their musqueteers over the mountains, to assault the head-quarters of the army in La Torre, were taken by assault, and sacked. And the Marquess of Pianezza was also obliged to increase his army, by the addition of some of the French regiments, which were then in Piemont.

Questa sì insolente, ed inaspettata resistenza, benche obligasse il marchese à rigori, volle nondimeno far preceder la dolcezza, ed insinuar, come fece con una scrittura, che si rimise à quelli indurati, che non sepevano prender partito, ò strada di sortrarsi dal meritato castigo, col dar à S. A. R. qualche sodisfattione.

Comparvero in seguito di detta scrittura i deputati di quelle terre, ma non seppero mai proporre alcun partito di sodisfattione, onde disse loro il marchese, che come havevano i loro confratelli cominciato il gravissimo loro delitto, rifiutano l' alloggio, ed essi assistitogli in questa ribellione, cosi cominciassero anche à ripararlo, ricevendo in alloggio le truppe, che sarebbero loro inviate, con un' ordine: che ciò fatto si sarebbe trattato con dignità di S. A. R. delle sodis fattioni da drasele: fù loro nel medemo tempo dichiarato che in questo trattato non potevano entrar S. Gio. e La Torre con suoi borghi, come che non

This insolent and unexpected resistance of the rebels, although it afterwards constrained the Marquess of Pianezza to take a more rigorous course, yet prevented him not from trying, by all mild ways, to soften their animosity; and, to this end, he sent a letter, which was delivered to them, wherein he admonished those obstinate people, to take some course, whereby they might avoid the punishment due to them, and give his royal highness some kind of satisfaction.

Upon the subject of this letter, the deputies of some places did indeed assemble, but never proposed any expedient for satisfying their prince: wherefore the marquess told them, that as their brethren had committed a most grievous crime by refusing to quarter the soldiers (to which rebellion they also had been assisting) they ought to endeavour to repair that fault, by receiving and quartering those troops which should be sent them by order; and that if they submitted to this, they might, consistently with the honour of his royal highness, treat of the means to give him satisfaction. At which time it was likewise de-

erano in tempo di ricever, ne alloggio, ne gratia: e perche non nascesse controversia ottorno à tutto questo, ne remise il marchese à deputati una scrittura ben chiara, e distinta.

Rifiutarono da principio quelli d' Angrogna d' accettar questo partito, se non s' includevano La Torre, S. Gio. et obligarono il marchese à metter le truppe in battaglia per andargli ad attacare, ma finalmente piegarono, e ricevettero senza resistenza nelle parte inferiore il reggimento, e corazze di Livorno, ma dishabitando tutti, e non sominestrando loro cosa veruna per il mantenimento per essersi ritirati all' alto, fù necessitato il marchese dimandare (pur con un' ordine) il reggimento di Gransé, perche si alloggiasse nella parte superiore.

clared unto them, that the towns of St. Giovanni and La Torre, with the villages depending, could not possibly be comprehended in such a treaty, as being incapable now of either receiving soldiers to quarter with them, or their prince's pardon; and lest any controversy should arise from thence, the marquess confirmed it to the deputies by a clear and distinct writing.

At first, the inhabitants of Angrogna refused to accept of what was proposed, because their neighbours of La Torre and St. Giovanni were not included: whereupon the marquess was compelled to put his soldiers in battle-array, for the attack of those rebels; but at length they submitted, and did receive without resistance, in the lower part of the valley, a regiment, and the cuirassiers of Livorno: but forasmuch as all the inhabitants of those places had forsaken their dwellings, and would not furnish the said troops with any thing for their subsistence, having themselves retired to the higher part of the valley, the marquess was compelled to send the regiment of Gransé with an order to take up quarters in that higher part.

Comandava à detto reggimento il Signor di Petitbourg, professante la religione pretesa riformata, della quale pur anco era l' ajutante, che si gli diede; al primo, mentre si marciava, et era in testa della truppe, disse il Marchese di Pianezza che gli racommandava sopra il tutto di trattar il meglio ch' haverebbero potuto quelli d' Angrogna, di procurare l' allogio nella parte superiore, e la sussistenza sì, ma pacificamente, e di non far alcuna hostilità, se il paesano non resisteva. Detto Signor Petitbourg, si stima huomo tanto d' honore, che non si dubita sia per controvertire tal verità, ne allegare, c' habbia mai havuto alcun' ordine contrario à questo, e l' ajutante, ch'é dell' istessa religione, può dire, se mai é stato comandato di dar ordino alcuno hostile contro quegli habitanti, mentre essi colle renitenze loro, si fossero astenuti dal provocar la soldatesca à maltrattargli, il che anche quanto alle persone, non si fece mai, se non nell' atto del combattere, e senza

He who commanded the said regiment, was M. de Petitbourg, a professor of the pretended reformed religion, as was the adjutant, who caused all the orders which were given him to be put in execution. Now while he was on the march, and at the head of the troops, the Marquess di Pianezza charged, and recommended him above every thing to treat those of Angrogna as mildly as possible, and to take up quarters, and provisions in the higher part of the valley, but peaceably, and without the least act of hostility, in case the peasants made no resistance. This Sieur de Petitbourg hath the reputation of being a person of so much honour, that there is no question to be made, but he will readily attest the truth hereof, and that he will never say he received any order to the contrary. And the adjutant, who is a professor of the same religion, is able to say, whether he was ever commanded to give orders for the committing any act of hostility upon the inhabitants, while they conducted themselves with moderation, and abstained from provoking the soldiery to maltreat them; who toccar alcun inhabile al porte d' armi.

Volendosi dunque loggiar il reggimento di Gransé, conforme alli ordini havuti, trovò i paesani in arme, se li mandò loro tre, ò quattro persone avanti per acquietargli, e per dir loro, che si veniva conforme al concerto per alloggiar pacificamente, e con esse s' accompagnò anche certo d' Angrogna, chiamato il Giacone, il quale volse andar solo per parlar à suoi (dicevo egli) e persuadergli all' istesso: ma fubito, che fu gionto da loro fecero essi una gran salve alle persone, colle quali il Giacone era venuto, et indi cotinuarono ogni sorte d' hostilita, si che furono necessitate tutte le truppe colla spada alla mano d' impadronirsi di tutte le habitationi d' Angrogna, e del posto, chiamato Il prà del Torno, et inseguito si resero patroni de' bestiami, et altre cose, che vi trovarono, fuggendo la maggior parte de gli huomini, e non essendosi, ne all' hora, ne mai incontrato da quella parte, ne donne,

never did any violence but in the very heat of the combat, and never assailed any person incapable of bearing arms.

Now the regiment of Gransé coming for quarters, in conformity to the orders they had received, found the peasants up in arms; whereupon they sent three or four persons before to pacify them, and to signify unto them, that they were come, according to orders, to quarter themselves in a peaceable manner: these four were accompanied by a certain person of Angrogna, named Giacone, who would have undertaken to have gone alone, to speak to those, (his own countrymen, as he said), and to persuade them. But the said Giacone had no sooner arrived amongst them, but they discharged a volley of musquet-shot at those who came with him, and continued all sorts of hostility as before. Upon this, all the said troops were constrained to go with their swords in their hands, to make themselves masters of all the habitations of Angrogna, and of the post which is called Il pra del Torno, and afterwards, to seize upon the cattle, and other things, which they found,

ne vecchi, ne figliuoli, che più da buon' hora havevano preso partito.

Furono le suddete cosse esequite, comandando al regimento di Gransé il Signor di Petitbourg, il quale vedendo, che gli Angrognini ancor non contenti, ritornavano à ripigliar i lasciati alloggiamenti, à rinovar le scaramuccie, tirandosi sopra nuove rovine, si parti dal suo corpo, il quale però fermatosi ivi due, ò trè giorni doppo, non hebbe occasione di far altra cosa (come neanche le altre truppe) che qualche scaramuccie cogli paesani, mentre tentavano ripigliar i posti perduti qualche nuova preda di bestiame più nascosto, e la demolitione di quelle case, che servivano di ritirata per rinovar sempre più le loro hostilita, ne con verità si troverà, che vi sia stato altro, ne che manchino, se non po-

the greatest part of the men having fled, and not a soul either then or afterwards being there to be found, whether women, old men, or children, having all of them timely withdrawn themselves from those parts.

All these things above-mentioned were performed by the regiment of Gransé, under the command of M. de Petitbourg; who seeing that those of Angrogna were yet dissatisfied, and returned to seize the habitations which they had before quitted, to renew their skirmishes, and to bring upon themselves fresh ruin, retired from his said regiment, which, notwithstanding, remained there for the space of two or three days afterwards. However, there was no occasion at that time, either for them, or any other troops, to act any further, save only in some skirmishes they had with certain peasants, who endeavoured to regain the posts which they had lost, and to seize upon some more cattle, which they had discovered, and to demolish some few houses which the peasants made use of, for the continuing and repeating their acts of hostility. Neither can it be proved, that there was

chissimi huomini, etiandio portanti le armi d' Angrogna.

Dall' altro lato, ove è la valle del Pelice, e vi sono i villaggi del Villaro, e Bobbio li mandarono alcune truppe commandate dal Marchese Galeazzo Villa, il reggimento di Villa, e quello di Chamblay, il maggiore del quale chiamasi Monsù di Montafon, come alcuni altri Ufficiali, che sono della religione pretesa riformata, e possono attestar si sono, ò commesse, ò commandate da alcuno attioni crudeli. Le Terre del Villaro, e Bobbio non fecero resistenza nell' allogiare ma dishabitarano quasi intieramente, e si ritarono gli huomini ne' Borghi, e populationi superiori con tutte le vettovaglie, onde conveniva al soldato, ò morir di fame, ò andarsi à cercar il vitto, col moschetto in detti Borghi, ove non fù mai possibile per patienzá, che si havesse, ne per rimostranze, che si mandassero à far loro d' ottenere accesso amicabilmente, ò in diffetto d' esso qualche vivere, ma volsero i predetti Borghi farsi

any other thing there done, or any persons besides a very few men of Angrogna, and those bearing arms, found dead upon the place.

On the other side, in the valley of Pelice, and in the villages of Villaro, and Bobbio, there were some troops who were commanded by the Marquess Galeazzo Villa, and the regiment of Villa, and that of Chamblay, whose major's name is Monsieur di Montafon, and several other officers, who make profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, are able to attest, whether there were committed, or any cruel orders given for action in those places. Those of Villaro and Bobbio made no resistance at all in quartering the troops, but yet they did all of them quit their habitations, and retired with all their provisions into the villages and cantons of the upper parts of the valley, by which means, the soldiers were put to this alternative, either to die with hunger, or else to go and seek for victuals with their muskets in the said villages; where they could never, either by forbearance or remonstrance, obtain an amicable reception, much less persuade them to part with any

forzare, saccheggiare, e bruggiare uno ad uno, mentre havevano l' esempio delle terre del Villaro, e di Bobbio rimaste intatte, ed ove quietamente vivevano quei pochi paesani, che vi erano rimasti, a' quali anche agiungendosi etiando altri, che prima ritirati nella valle de Queiras, poscia si riducevano à ritornar alla patria, si fece dalla monitione di S. A. R. dar il paine. In questo tempo piovette straordinariamente alla pianura, e fioccò smisuratamente nell' alto della montagna, onde molti, che perduti i predetti borghi pensavano salvarsi nella valle de Queiras, restorano miserabilimente presi nella neve, altri pensando di salvar le famiglie, et i figliuoli piccoli, sopra fatti del peso, ò dalla fatica della mala strada gli abandonavano nell' istessa neve, ove alcuni se ne sono trovati estinti, e molti huomini, e donne etiandio oppresse dalla, valanche della neve. Quanto à figlivoli, però quelli, che si sono trovati vivi si sono presi cosi mal-

provisions. Those people chose rather to suffer their houses to be sacked and burnt, one after another, although they had, as examples before their eyes, the few inhabitants of Villaro and Bobbio, who remained there unmolested, and who lived in peace, together with some others, who had at the first withdrawn themselves into the valley of Queiras, and afterwards returned back into their own country, and to whom was given a portion of bread, by the command of his royal highness. At this time, it rained in torrents in the plain, and the tops of the mountains were covered with such deep snow, that many, who seeing the above-said villages thus lost to them, thought to have saved themselves in the valley of Queiras, perished miserably in the snow. Others thinking to escape with their whole families, lost many of their little ones, who being quite tired out, what with their heavy burdens, and what with the badness of the way, were left behind, and were afterwards found dead, and many men and women were overwhelmed by the avalanches that fell from the mountains. As for those young children, who were found alive, they were taken

trattati dal freddo, come erano, et si è fatto loro ogni possibil caritta, e si sono distribuitti per il Piemonte con lista, é registro, che s'hà alla mano per ogni bisogno; onde si può sapere, chi ne hà tolti à nudrire, et in che luogo, le donne fatte prigioni, con ogni cura si sono tolte à i soldati, dando loro, etiandio mercedi, e si sono, ò mese in libertà, ò collocate (se l' hanno desiderato) à servire in Piemonte, e di ciò si hà anche una lista alla mano, e quà fù la maggior mortalità, che non accedette però il numero di circa 200, se mettiamo insieme i morti nella neve dal freddo con li uccisi dal ferro. Dalche tutto si può vedere quanto siano false le calunnie de' ribelli, che per eccitar commisserationi per se, ed odio contro chi gli hà castigati, spargono, che si sia adoperata ogni crudeltà contro ogni sesso, et età di personne (che mai si troverà vero.) A particolari di Bobbio, e dell' Villaro accordò anche il Mar-

up in a woeful plight almost dead with cold, and used with all the care and charity imaginable, and were afterwards distributed throughout Piemont, and a register was kept, of their names, and of the places where, and the persons to whom they were thus disposed, which may be produced, if occasion require. In like manner, those women who were made prisoners, were with all the care imaginable taken out of the hands of the soldiers, to whom there was given a ransom for them, and set at liberty, or (if they desired it) were placed out at service in Piemont, and of those also there was a roll or register kept. The greatest number of lives that were lost did not exceed two hundred, adding together both those who perished in the snow, those who died with cold, and those who were slain with the sword. By all which it will easily appear, how false the calumnies of the rebels are, who, to render themselves the objects of pity, and those who chastised them, of hatred, publish to the world, that there was exercised all manner of cruelty upon all sorts of persons, of all ages and sexes, which can never be proved or

chese di Pianezza, conforme alla promessa fatta loro di trovar temperamenti per il loro perdono, se si disponevano d' allogiar pacificamente, una capitulatione, la quale si legge sottoscritta da alcuni capi di casa, nella quale aggiustò loro l' esercizio della religione pretesa riformata, e le conditioni del loro perdono colla riserva solo dell' approvatione di S. A. R. la quale non volle darla, perche si conveniva solo con pochi particolari, e cosi senza sicurezza alcuna dell' osservanza per parte loro. Col progresso poi d' alcuni giorni molti dishabitorono, e molti si offerirono volontariamente alle cattolizatione, à quali si fece un salvocondotto di due anni per star nelle case loro con promessa della gratia al fine d' essi, se non sacevano cosa contraria, e non incorrevano in nuove disubbidienze à S. A. R. il che si prratticò anche con diversi altri particolari d' altre terre venuti

made good. The Marquess of Pianezza having promised to some particular persons of Villaro and Bobbio, to find some expedient for obtaining their pardon, conformably to the promise he had formerly made them, they were inclined to receive and quarter the soldiers in a peaceable manner, as is to be seen in a capitulation subscribed by the heads of several houses, wherein was granted to them the exercise of the pretended reformed religion, and wherein were specified the conditions of their pardon, with a reserve only of his royal highness' approbation, which indeed he would not give them, because the accord was made only with a few particulars, and consequently without any security or assurance, for the due observing the same on their part. Within a few days after, many quitted their habitations, and many offered themselves to become Catholics, to whom were given a *salvo condotto* or protection, to abide in their houses for the space of two years, with a promise of pardon at the end thereof, in case they did nothing against his royal highness, and did not renew their rebellion. The same course was spontaneamente ad offerirsi alla cattolizatione, e con altri anche detenuti, che fecero instanza d' esservi ammessi, e non si potè loro rifiutare.

La terra di Rorata, che soli di 25 case in circa, non si era toccata, pensava il Marchese di Pianezza, che non dovesse far peggio, che Villaro, e Bobbio, e cosi le accordò una salvagardia. Ma Giosué Ginavello volse, che la sua ribellione, s' avanzasse sopra tutte le altre, è parciò venne con una squadra di qu' ella patria, di cui egli si fè capo, ad attacar alcuni Cattolici non molto discosto da Luserna, e si mise egli in armi in certi posti poco distanti di Rorata, senza haver mai ricevuto quel luogo, altro che gratie, e favori. Onde vedendosi così malvagia corrispondenza si risolse d' attaccar, e rompere (come si fece) detta squadra del Giosuè, della quale restarano nel

taken with divers others, who came thither, from other particular villages, who voluntarily embraced the Catholic religion, as also with some, who, being detained prisoners, made their requests to be admitted as members of the same, and that in so earnest a manner, there was no refusing them.

The village of Rorata, consisting of about twenty-five families, was not at all assailed before that time. And the Marquess of Pianezza believed that they would not conduct themselves worse than those of Villaro and Bobbio had done, and therefore granted them likewise a *salva guardia*. But Joshua Ginavello resolving that his rebellion should surpass that of all the rest, came with a squadron of soldiers that were the inhabitants of that place, whom he himself commanded, and assaulted several Catholics not far from Lucerna, and set men in ambuscade in several posts near Rorata, although that place had never received any thing but grace and favours. The marquess, finding them altogether so ungrateful resolved to attack and destroy (as he did) the said squadron of

campo alcuni, et altri colla fuga per quelle balze si salvorono, indi di disfar il nido di simili assassini colla della demolitione della già dishabitata Rorata.

Nella valle di S. Martino poi, e nella Perosa soggetta à S. A. R. non poteva dimeno il Marchese di Pianezza di far sentire qualche parte del castigo dovuto allà temerità loro, mentre senza esser, ne offesi, ne ricercati di cosa veruna per parte di S. A. R. havevano prese le armi contro d' essa, per sostener la ribellione di quelli di Luserna.

Desiderava però egli, che qualche sodisfattione loro facesse cessar la necessità del castigo, e perciò gl' invito per lettere, che passarono per mano del Signor della Bertoniere, commandante per sua maestà Christianissima in Pinerolo, et mandar à trattar de' suoi interessi, ma non vollero mai rispondere ; indi inviò il Conte Bochi-

Joshua, of whom some were killed upon the spot, and others made their escape among the precipices of the mountains, and after that he demolished the nest of such assassins, by the destruction of this village of Rorata, which was already uninhabited.

As to the inhabitants of the valleys of San Martino and Perosa, who were the subjects of his royal highness, the Marquess of Pianezza could do no less than make them feel some part of the chastisement due to their temerity, in having taken up arms against their sovereign, without having been aggrieved in the least by him, or molested in any manner whatsoever, merely to foment and maintain the rebellion of those of Lucerna.

However, desiring that they would, by some kind of satisfaction, avoid the necessity of a chastisement, he invited them by letters, which were sent through the hands of Sieur de la Bertoniere, then commanding for his most Christian Majesty in Pinerolo, to send some one to enter into conditions with him, but they never returned an answer. After this, he sent to them the Count Bo-

ardo uno de’ Signori della valle di S. Martino, in esse valle à rimonstrar loro il proprio errore, e la convenienza di ripararlo, che chiò mediante si sarebbe evitato un’ allogio, ed un gran danno per il paese: fù ben presto disposto l’ universale, e fece al medemo conte una scrittura, per la quale promettevano quei particolari di partire, e far le sue discolpe, quali non essendo accettate, haverebero venduti i suoi beni, e preso volontariamente l’ esilio: ma trattandosi poi della sicurezza dell’ essecutione di detta scrittura, e di dar per essa alcuni ostaggi, furono talmente minacchiati da alcuni pochi capi de fattiosi, che non lo fecero. Onde fù necessario, e nella valle di Perosa, et in quella di S. Martino mandar allogio di truppe,

chiardo, one of the lords of the valley of San Martino, to declare and lay before them their error, and the expediency of making reparation for the same; by which means, he told them, they might prevent the troops quartering upon them, and the great damage, which otherwise would be brought upon the country: this soon persuaded the minds of the people in general, who, accordingly, gave a certain writing into the hands of the same count, whereby the particular inhabitants of the said valley promised either to depart, or to make their justification, and in case their justifications were not accepted, that then they would sell their estates, and voluntarily become exiles: but, afterwards, security being demanded, in order to the putting of the said writing in execution, and certain hostages being required of them, they were so threatened by some few ringleaders of the rebellion, that they refused to do the same. And hereupon it was necessary to send (as the marquess did) several troops to quarter themselves both in the valley of Perosa, and also in that of San Martino; in the first they

come si fece, nella prima senza trovarvi altro che le mura, e nella seconda mandandosi solo 250 huomini più tosto per fargli veder, che provar il meritato castigo.

Appena comparuero quelle truppe, che quelli di Prali vennero incontro al Marchese Galeazzo Villa, che le comandava, dicendogli che tutti volevano Cattolizarsi, così che molto avanti vi giongessero alcuni soldati, havevano moltissimi di quella valle detto al padre missionario, l' istesso fecero anche la maggior parte delle altre terre, ma mentre il Marchese Galeazzo da Manestia ritornò colle sue truppe à Prali, e prima, che nelle valli di S. Martino, e Perosa havessero i soldati fatto alcun' affronto alli habitanti, si portò Giaiero al Perero, ivi abbruggiò la Prevostura, diede il fuoco alla missione, e Chiesa, prese prigioni i padri Cappucini, e lì trattò con ogni crudeltà, et uno de' conti d' esso luogo, sualiggiò la chiesa di detta missione, ed in essa altre cose sacre, fece insolenze da

found nothing but bare walls, and into the last there were sent only 250 men, rather to make the people dread, than feel their deserved punishment.

These troops no sooner appeared in the said valley, but the inhabitants of Prali came to meet the Marquess Galeazzo Villa, who commanded them, and told him that they would all turn Catholics; of which also many of that valley had assured the missionary father a long time before the said troops ever came to that place; and the greatest part of the other villages did the same thing. But in the mean while, as the Marquess Galeazzo was returning with his troops from the village of Manestia to that of Prali, and before that the soldiers had offered the least injury to the inhabitants of San Martino or Perosa, one Giaiero came to the village of Perero, and there burnt the Prevostura, set fire to the church of the missionary fathers, took prisoners the Capuchin friars, treated them with all sorts of cruelty, as also a count of the said place, robbed the church of the missionary fathers, and committed atrocities against other sacred things, not fit non riferirsi, per non parlar della prigionia d' un Capitano di Villa trovato solo, perche come soldato poteva restar esposto à simile accidente.

Due, ò trè giorni si fermarono ancor le truppe nelle predette valli, senza offesa d' alcuna persona humana, ma col solo danno di molte habitationi de' ribelli, indi partirono, e subito il Giaiero ritornato al Perero fini di bruggiar ciò che prima haveva cominciato ; non lasciò cos' alcuna de' Cattolici, che non desse alle fiamme, e si mise à far morir quei poveri innocenti, che mai havevano ne anche pensato di dargli dispiacere, e che anzi havevano ricevuto essi molto incommodo della soldatesca ivi alloggiata, e quanti non fuggirino ò fuggendosi lasciarono cogliere, non camparano la vita, la quale non si contentarono di togliergli, se non vi aggiongevano crudeltà straordinaria, continuate etiandio contro i cadaveri : l'istesso fecero contro le case, beni, e persone de' Cattolici delle valle predette di S. Martino, e Perosa, si che non ven' è restato altr' avanzo, che alcuni

to be reported, to say nothing of the imprisonment of one Captain Di Villa, who being a soldier, was likely to be exposed to this sort of treatment.

These troops took up their abode in the aforesaid valleys for the space of two or three days, without offering any offence to any person whatsoever, (all the damage they did was to the houses of the rebels!) and they had no sooner departed, but immediately came Giaiero from Perero, and made an end of burning what he had begun, sparing not any thing which belonged to the Catholics, but committed all to the flames, and put to death many poor innocents, who had never the least thought of troubling them, and who had moreover suffered great injuries from the soldiery that was quartered in those parts. And as many of them as did not fly, or were overtaken in their flight, lost their lives, with which sacrifice, they were not satisfied, without the addition of extraordinary cruelties committed even against the dead bodies. They inflicted the same upon the persons, houses, and estates of all the Catholics of the valleys of San Martino, and Perosa aforesaid, insomuch that there were none

pochi, che scampati miracolosamente, e facendo il giro negli stati di S. Maesta Christianis. sono poi venuti à ricorrere alla pieta di S. A. R.

Ciò fatto si portò il Giaiero à S. Secondo, le bruggiò in gran parte, trucidorono barbaramente i due PP. Missionarii con alcune donne e figlivoli, si saccheggiò, e bruggiò la missione, il giorno seguente bruggiò la chiesa e cassina di Miradolo. Poco doppo il Giosué Grimaldo venne, doppo haver saccheggiato in quei contorni, à bruggiar Lucernetta, passò al Villaro, ed ivi fece alcuni prigioni de Cattolizzati: altre volte vi è stato, ed hà fatto archibuggiar alcuni perche si erano Cattolizzati. Finalmente dopò l' incendio, e saccheggio di moltissime Cassine de Garzigliana, S. Secondo, e Brigherasco, e la secondo volta venuto à S. Secondo il Giaiero, ed ivi hà tagliato a pezzi tuttociò, che vi hà trovato

left, except some few, who having miraculously escaped the rage of those people, took their flight through the dominions of his most Christian majesty, and came and cast themselves at the feet of his royal highness, to implore his pity and compassion.

This done, the said Giaiero went to San Secondo, and burnt a great part thereof down to the ground, and barbarously murdered two missionary fathers, together with several women and children, sacked and burnt all things belonging to the Missionary House, and, the day after, burnt the church and shrine of Miradolo. And Giosué Grimaldo, after he had sacked and ruined the places there, went and burnt Lucernetta, and proceeded to Villaro, and took prisoners several of those who had but lately turned Catholics: he also came there a second time, and shot others because they had turned Catholics. Finally, this Giaiero, after the firing and sacking of very many shrines in Garzigliana, S. Secondo, and Brigherasco, came the second time to S. Secondo, and there cut in pieces all those officers and soldiers he found, not giving quarter to any, no, not so much as to

d' ufficiali, e soldati, senza dar quartiero, neanche ad una di paesani, hà preso prigione il P. Missionario, ed anche incrudelito della più strana maniera del mondo contro i cadaveri de' defonti, e si dice per certo, che ciò è stato contro la parola, e la capitulatione fatto di rendersi : benche il non esser scampato, che uno, ò due malamente feriti, non permetta che ne possa constare.

Questo è il vero racconto de' successi della valle di Lucerna, ne' quali può ogn' uno scorgere con che fronte i rebelli, che à viva forza si sono tirati la rovina adosso, pensino di disseminare quei strani racconti, che vanno facendo per eccitar, non solo comiseratione del loro tanto meritato castigo, ma sinistro concetto contro chi l' hà loro giustamente, e moderatamente stabilito, mentre essi con tanto barbarie ed inhumanità si sono portati, quasi à gara del suo principe contro persone, contro le quali non havevano autorità veruna, e per lo più colla più stravagante, ed inudita forma di vendetta, che mai si sia praticata contro i più innocenti, ed i più congionti à

one of the peasants! He also took prisoner the missionary father, and exercised the strangest cruelties in the world against the dead bodies of those whom he had slain; and it is reported that all this was contrary to his word given, and the capitulation made with him when they surrendered themselves prisoners; although the truth is, we do not find this otherwise proved, than by the report of one or two who escaped grievously wounded.

This is a true relation of what passed in the valley of Lucerna, whereby it may be seen with what impudence those rebels, who have brought destruction upon themselves, do now spread abroad such strange reports, thinking thereby not only to excite the compassion of the world towards them for their deserved chastisement, but also to leave a bad impression against such as have, with much moderation, inflicted the same upon them, who so barbarously and inhumanly conducted themselves against persons over whom they had no authority at all, and took the most extravagant, and most unheard-of manner of revenge that ever was practised loro di patria e sangue, e quelli, che non hanno havuto cognitione, non che parte de' travagli, che si sono addossati *.

against the most innocent of their countrymen and kinsmen, who had not any knowledge or share in the troubles which had taken place.

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* This narrative is so extremely confused and contradictory, that the Author, despairing of being able to put it into an intelligible form, has transcribed Morland's literal translation, with the exception of a few passages that required alteration. But the very obscurity of this Notable State Paper, is in itself a proof, that the Oppressors of the Vaudois could not make out a case in their own favour.

# Nº. V.

*The subjoined Copies of Edicts and Concessions, which have been granted, at different Periods of History, in Favour of the Vaudois, by their Sovereigns, will shew how little has at any time been conceded to them, how moderate have been their Demands, and how frequently their Enemies have violated the most solemn Engagements.*

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## 1. EDICT OF PHILIP EMANUEL, DUKE OF SAVOY, DATED JUNE 5, 1561.

[The original is in volume O, of the Cambridge Manuscripts.]

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In the name of God.

His Highness issueth out these his letters patent, by which it will appear, in what manner his highness grants an indemnity to the people of the valleys of Angrogna, Bobbio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, Rora, Tagliaretto, La Rica di Boneti, La Torre, San Martino, Perosa, Roccapiatta, and S. Bartolomeo, and every one of these, as also to all such as shall be found to have assisted them, for all offences by them committed, whether they be damages, deaths, or fines; as well in particular, as in general, either against his highness, their immediate lords, or other particular persons within his highness' dominions, restoring them to his favour as if they had never done any thing against his highness; and receiving them under his gracious protection.

1. It shall be permitted to those of Angrogna, Bobbio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, and Rora, being districts of the valley of Lucerna, and likewise to those of Parlibece, Roderet, Masel, Maneglia, and Salea, districts of the valley of San Martino, to have preaching assemblies, and other ministerial offices, according to their religion, in their wonted places.

2. It shall be permitted them to have the same at Villaro, which is a district of the valley of Lucerna; and this shall be until such time as his highness shall make a fort in the said place; for after that such a fort is erected, it shall not be permitted to the people of the said place to have preaching, or congregations, within the bounds of the said place: but it shall be lawful for them to erect a place convenient for such like services, in some adjacent place towards Bobbio, as they shall find most convenient. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to the ministers to come within the said bounds, to visit the sick, and perform other necessary duties of their religion, provided that they neither preach, nor gather together any suspected congregation. At Togliaretto and Rua de Boneti, which are the confines of their lands, it shall be permitted them to have preaching, and congregations in the wonted places; provided, that they do not enter into the other confines of their lands, to do the same.

3. It shall not be permitted to the inhabitants of the above mentioned districts of the valleys of Lucerna, and San Martino above-said, to come within the other bounds of the said valleys, or the rest of his highness' dominions, passing the bounds of their prescribed limits there, to have preaching congregations, or disputations, but only to do this within their own bounds. And if by chance they shall be questioned touching their faith, it shall be lawful for them to make answer, without incurring thereby any punishment, either real or personal.

4. It shall be permitted to those of the parish which is on the other side of Perosa, who are at present fugitives for the sake of the said religion, to have preaching, and congregations, and other ministerial offices, according to their said religion, only in the place nominated, and not in any other place within the bounds of the said parish.

5. It shall be permitted to those of the parish of Pinachia, in the valley of Perosa, and to those of Roccapiatta, who are at present fugitives for the cause of their said religion, and do adhere to it, to have one minister only, who shall have liberty one day to administer and preach in the place of San Germano, called Adurmiglioso, and the other day at Roccapiatta, in the place called Goadini, and not in any part of the said parishes.

6. It shall be permitted to all persons of the said valleys, who are at present fugitives, and do adhere to their said religion (notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made against their religion before this war,) to return and live in their houses with their families, according to their religion; and to go, and return, from the sermons and congregations which shall be made in the said places, and other services of their religion; provided, that they observe what they engage to observe. And forasmuch as many of the above-said will be found in the lands of the said valleys, at a great distance from such places, and will thereby necessarily stand in need of visitations, and other ministerial functions, according to their religion; it shall be permitted to their ministers, (such as dwell within their limits, without any prejudice to such limits,) to visit and perform their ministerial duties, according as they shall have occasion; only they shall not have public preaching, or such as may afford the least suspicion.

7. To all the inhabitants of the said valleys above-mentioned, and to all the fore-named fugitives, and those who persist in their religion, as well those of the territories of the said valleys, as those of Roccapiatta, S. Bartolomeo, and Miana, their goods that have been confiscated shall be restored to them; provided, they be not confiscated for any other cause than that of religion, and the present or past war.

8. It shall be permitted to all the fore-named, to recover, by course of law, their moveables and their cattle, whereof they have been robbed, and which shall be found to have been sold by their neighbours, provided they be not soldiers; and the same is permitted to their neighbours against the above-mentioned.

9. All the freedom, immunities, and privileges, (as well general as particular) which have been granted either by his highness' most illustrious precedessors, his highness himself, or other immediate lords, shall be confirmed to the aforenamed; provided they prove the truth thereof, by authentic acts and instruments.

10. Those of the said valleys shall be obliged to write down the names and surnames of all such as belong to the territories of the aforesaid valleys, who have fled on account of the persecution of their religion, as well such as have abjured, as others who have remained with their goods and families, that so they may enjoy the favours and benefits that their prince and lord shall please to bestow upon them.

11. Because it is lawful for a prince, in his own country, to cause forts to be made, according to his pleasure, without being controlled or opposed, by any of his vassals, or subjects, to remove any cause of suspicion which might be entertained in the minds of the aforenamed of the said valleys, it is declared, That from this time forward, within some few days, his highness may peradventure cause a fort to be made in the commune of Villaro; nevertheless it shall be without any cost of those of the valley, except in what it shall seem good to them to contribute lovingly to their prince: which being done, by God's permission, it shall be provided with a governor, and a captain, who shall attend only for the service of his highness: nevertheless, this shall be without the least prejudice to any man's conscience, or his goods.

12. It shall be lawful for the aforenamed, before those ministers be dismissed (whom it shall please his highness to order to be sent away) to have others in their places; provided they do not retain Signor Martino, of Pragella; nor may they change or shift their abodes from one place to another of the said valleys, otherwise than it shall be permitted to them.

13. In the parishes of the said valleys, where preaching is held, and congregations are instituted, or the ministries of the said valley exercised, mass shall be celebrated, and other offices, according to the custom of the Roman Church; but the aforenamed shall not be constrained to go thereunto, or to give any help or assistance to any that officiate in

that service; and if any shall be pleased to go thither, no disturbance shall be given him by the aforenamed.

14. His highness shall make a free gift, and irrevocable remission of all the expences which he hath been at in this war, and of the 8000 crowns which the aforenamed did owe unto his highness, upon account of the 16,000 crowns agreed to be paid in the former war.

15. All the prisoners who may be found in the soldiers' hands, shall be restored and set at liberty, provided they pay a reasonable ransom, according to their means, leaving the judgment and ransom to the discretion of the Lord de Raconisi, and to the Lord della Trinite: and all those whom the said lords shall judge to be no lawful prisoners, shall be released without any ransom, who shall also cause to be released, without any payment, all those of the said valleys who shall be found in the galleys for cause of their religion, and not for any other offence.

16. Finally, his highness shall permit all the aforesaid of the said valleys, and the aforesaid of Miana, Roccapiatta, and S. Bartholomeo, of what state and condition soever they be (provided they be not ministers) to be included in the common society and intercourse with his other subjects, to stay, go, and come, in all places and countries of his highness' territories; and likewise to buy, sell, and traffic in all sorts of merchandizes, provided they refrain from preaching, from drawing together assemblies, and from disputation, as is abovesaid: and those that are in the limits, who have not a settled residence without their own limits, nor any within the territory of the said valleys, without their own territory, and the confines thereof, and those of Miana, Roccapiatta, S. Bartholomeo, shall not encroach beyond their own confines: and these things being punctually observed on their parts, no disturbance or molestation, whether real or personal, shall be offered unto them, but they shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his highness.

17. Moreover, orders shall be issued out by his highness, wherein there shall be sufficient provisions made against all disturbances, inconveniences, or plots of malignant spirits, to the end that the abovenamed may peaceably and quietly enjoy their own religion.

18. For the observance of all the conditions, and that no inconvenience may arise about the peformance and execution of the above-written articles, Georgio Monestieri of Angrogna, sent by the said valleys, and Syndic of S. Constance, and of Ateszani; and Rambaudo Syndic of Bobbio; Michele Ramondetti, sent by the commonalty of Tagliaretti, and Rua di Bonetti to La Torre; Giovanni Mala-notte, sent particularly by those of S. Giovanni; Pietro Pasquale, sent by the commonalty of the valley of S. Martino; Thomasso Romano, of S. Germano, sent by the said commonalty, and by the whole valley of Perosa, do promise for their commonalties respectively, that the contents of the above-said articles shall be inviolably observed; and in case of non-observance, they do submit to such punishment as it shall please his highness to inflict on them; promising, in like manner, to cause this their engagement to be approved and confirmed *(per capita domorum)* by the heads of families.

The most illustrious Lord of Raconigi doth promise that his highness shall ratify and approve the above-written articles to the under-written, in particular, and in general, granted by the intercession of her most serene Highness, Madame, as a pure act of her special grace: in witness whereof, the aforesaid lord hath subscribed these presents with his own hand; and the ministers, in the name of all the aforesaid commonalties, have underwritten their names *in quor. fid.* this 5th of June, 1561.

PHILLIPPO DI SAVOYA.
(Signed)
FRANCISCO VALLE, Minister of Villaro in Lucerna.
CLAUDIUS BERGIO, Minister of Tagliaretto.
GEORGIO MONESTIERI, of Angrogna.
MICHELE RAMONDETTI, of Taglioretti.

## 2. PETITION OF THE VAUDOIS, AND CONCESSIONS GRANTED TO THEM, BY CHARLES EMANUEL, DUKE OF SAVOY, APRIL 9, 1603.

[The original is in volume K, of the Cambridge Manuscripts.]

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### Translation.

Most serene lord,

The most faithful subjects and servants of your most serene highness, who make profession of the reformed religion, according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, in the valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Talluco, Miana, Matis, and the Marquisate of Saluzzo, making up one body in Christ, declare and represent to your most serene highness their natural and lawful prince, that being troubled, questioned, and molested, upon the account of their aforesaid religion, after they have frequently presented their petitions to your highness for securing them from such troubles, molestations, and inquisitions, without having obtained any relief, but rather experiencing from bad to worse, and seeing even an indication to execute the penalties contained in certain edicts, and considering that this would bring upon them a total and deplorable ruin; they therefore think it expedient to declare to you, the extreme grief of heart which they are feeling, and to implore your bounty, that they may enjoy that gracious tranquillity, which they have enjoyed, by the mercy of God, under the good pleasure of their good princes of happy memory, and of your most serene highness, which tranquillity your abovesaid petitioners desire may be established and made perpetual; and therefore they cast themselves once more, in all humility, at your highness' feet, beseeching you that you will vouchsafe to grant unto them the particulars under-written, to the end that they may live in quiet, and they will employ both their lives and estates for the service of your most serene highness.

| Petitions. | Answers. |
|---|---|
| First, that your highness would be pleased to abolish and declare null all restrictions whatsoever, upon the account of religion, together with all the proceedings and confiscations which have been made, and especially the illegal confiscation of the goods of Signora Beatrice Solara, and her children, (she having dwelt in the said valley of Lucerna now above thirty years, and her children being born in the said valley), and that they may be all restored into a peaceable condition. | His highness doth not intend that they should be molested for their pretended religion, so that they abstain from exercising it, out of the places of the valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa. |
| Moreover to grant them the free preaching and exercise of their religion in all the valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Talluco, Mina, Matis, and the Marquisate of Saluzzo, in the places accustomed, and usual, until this present time. | Provided, they do it only in the limits tolerated in the said three valleys, they shall not be molested. |
| Moreover, that all those of this religion of these valleys may return and abide in their houses, live in liberty of conscience, and use the exercise of their religion in the places accustomed. | As to the natives of the said three valleys, they may return, his highness suspending, as to them, the order which hath been made for those who have property without the limits designed. |
| Moreover, that those of the said religion may exercise, and may be admitted to all kind of public offices in the above-said | His highness, in what concerns the exercise of public offices, doth grant it in the said three valleys, and permits that they may go |

| | |
|---|---|
| valleys, and that they may traffic through all the states of his most serene highness, and make their harvest, and thresh their corn, without molestation or inquisition, because of the said religion, as also that those who shall lodge and entertain them for assistants, may not be molested; and in like manner, that those who dwell in the said valleys, shall have confirmed to them all the privileges and concessions usual until this present time. | and make their harvest, and thresh their corn, upon condition, notwithstanding, that they abstain from publishing their doctrine. |
| Moreover, to restore to liberty of conscience all those who have renounced their religion. | It is not a thing which belongs to his highness to meddle with. |
| Moreover, that none upon account of religion may be chased away, or prohibited to dwell in the valleys and places petitioned for, nor hindered from exercising public offices. | Provision is made in the answer given to the third and fourth head. |
| Moreover, that poor Cupini, detained in Asti now above two years past, and only for the said religion, may be released. | His highness will write about him to the Bishop of Asti, that he may be set free. |
| Moreover, his most serene highness is most humbly implored, that he will be pleased to grant, according to his wonted goodness and clemency, that those men who are honest may live quietly in the said valleys, and, for public quietness sake, to grant pardon and favour to those | His highness, at the request of the Count of Lucerna, knight of his own order, is pleased to pardon the Banditti petitioned for. Except, notwithstanding, those that are written down and noted in the edict made last by the lieutenant of justice Bergera, &c. |

who were described or named Banditti, in the publication made in the valleys of that edict, published by the illustrious lord the chief justice, by order of his most serene highness, and to all their coadjutors, abettors, counsellors, and adherents, for the faults, excesses, and crimes by them said to be committed and perpetrated in the tumults hitherto, for matters of religion or otherwise, together with a prohibition of all real or personal molestation of them.

Pietro Bruno, for the commonalty of Bubiana and Champiglione.
Chiaberto Bodetti, for Villaro, Bobbio, and La Torre.
Gerardo Malano, for Angrogna.

*(illegible)* detained now in Pinerolo, and of *(illegible)* of Angrogna, upon this condition, notwithstanding, namely, that they restore the churches, and repair the damages done to them. Provided also, that should the said outlaws return, or others who may hereafter be banished by justice, they do then take them prisoners, living or dead, and keep the said valleys clear from such heinous malefactors, under the penalty of making good all damages which shall be sustained from such persons, and of other punishment at pleasure.

Given in Cunio, the 9th of April, 1603.

(Signed)

Carolo Emanuel.
V. F. Millet.

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## 3. PETITION OF THE VAUDOIS, AND CONCESSIONS GRANTED, JUNE 20, 1620.

[The original is in volume K, of the Cambridge Manuscripts.]

### Translation.

Most serene lord,

The most faithful and most humble subjects of your most serene highness of the religion of the valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, and of the other places contiguous to them, having in times past obtained through the clemency of your highness, and also of your most serene father, of glorious memory, certain favourable grants concerning the exercise of their said religion, have always endeavoured to live conformably to them, in a Christian manner, under the protection and obedience of your highness, in which they desire they may always quietly continue; but now finding themselves molested in consequence of the edicts, contrary to their grants aforesaid, which are said to be published in certain places of the said valley of Lucerna, and proceedings being made to put in execution the penalties contained in the said edicts, with threatenings of greater damage, they, assuring themselves that this doth not proceed from the intention of your highness, from whom alone, next under God, they expect, as from their natural and most gracious prince, a deliverance so necessary, they think fit to cast themselves at your feet, humbly beseeching that you will be pleased, according to your wonted goodness, to forbid all molestation of your said petitioners for matters of religion, restoring them into a peaceable condition; and, for this purpose, to confirm and grant them the humble petitions following.

| Petitions. | Answers. |
|---|---|
| First, that you would be pleased to confirm all the gracious grants made to them, as well by your most serene highness, as by your most serene father, of happy memory, so that they may continue in the free exercise of their religion in the places hitherto tolerated and used, notwithstanding any order published, made or to be made to the contrary, and that you will annul all the proceedings, confiscations, declarations of penalties, fines and inquisitions made upon occasion of the said orders restoring all those who have been | As to the first, his highness confirms it, and commands that the grants made unto the petitioners upon the 9th of April, 14th of May, and last day but one of September, 1603, shall be observed as to the valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, together with Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Prarostino, and the other places in the grants, as is petitioned, and within the limits graciously tolerated, notwithstanding any other order unto the contrary, and also he gives unto them pardon and remission of all the penalties in- |

disquieted or molested, so that they may hereafter live peaceably under the dominion of your highness, and that you will command that the said petitions may be granted and registered for them gratis, freeing them from the payment of the quos, decima, albergo, sigillo, signattura, and other charges whatsoever, which they hope to obtain, and they shall pray to the Lord for the happiness of yourself, and of the most serene princess. Registered 3, 170 register. First 245. I say 245. Registered in the chamber.

curred for breaking his orders, and for other faults and excesses committed before the general pardon, notwithstanding the sentences of the captain of justice and the senate, derogating in this respect from that which the said pardon expresseth, and all this his highness hath done and doth of special favour, upon condition of payment of six thousand ducatoons, to be paid at the rate and according as usual, by the said three valleys; moreover that those of San Giovanni shall stop up the gate of the church newly made, and not otherwise, nor in other manner.

The second and last his highness grants. Given in Turin, the 20th of June, 1620.

(Signed)
Carlo Emanuel,
Argentero,
Cernusco, Carron.
Arnaldo Magalli, Secretary.

These very concessions were confirmed by Madame Royale, in the year 1638. And again, by his royal highness then reigning, upon the 30th of June, 1649, and the 2d of June, and the 29th of December, in the year 1653. Upon which very day, those of the reformed religion, having reiterated their supplications to his royal highness, to the end that the abovesaid confirmation of the said concessions might be Senza alcuna restrittione, ne alteratione, non ostante qual si voglia ordine fatto, ò da farsi, ò qual si voglia altra cosa in contrario, i. e. Without any restriction or alteration, notwithstanding any order made or to be made, or any other thing whatsoever to the contrary. His royal highness made them answer at the end of their supplications, in the following terms : Dichiara sua Altezza Royale non esser di mente sua, che per le risposte date al memoriale e capi delli 2 Giugno, 1653, s'intendino ampliate ne diminuite le concessione debitamente spedite, le quali hanno li supplicanti rapportate del fu Duca Carlo Emanuel avo suo, et de' alteri suoi serenissimi predecessori. In Torino li 29 Decembre, 1653, i. e. His royal highness declares, that it is not his intention that the concessions which have been granted in due form, which the petitioners have obtained of the late Duke Charles Emanuel, his uncle, and of others his most serene predecessors, should be altered, enlarged, or diminished. In Turin, the 29th of September, 1653.

After these declarations followed the massacres of 1655 and 1686.

# N°. VI.

## *The Liturgy of Geneva.*

As this formulary is principally used in the Protestant valleys of Piemont, the Author is desirous of laying a short account of it before his readers, and for that purpose he has made a translation of the Table of Contents, and has added such portions of the service in the original language, as will give a tolerable idea of the spirit, beauty, and tendency of the whole.

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### POUR LE DIMANCHE MATIN.

*Après la lecture de quelques chapitres de l'écriture sainte et du décalogue, le ministre commence ainsi :*

Notre aide soit au nom de Dieu, qui a fait le ciel et la terre. Amen.

Mes Frères, que chacun de vous se présente devant le seigneur, pour lui faire une humble confession de ses péchés, en suivant du cœur ces paroles.

Prière.

Seigneur Dieu, père éternel et tout-puissant, nous reconnoissons et nous confessons devant ta sainte majesté que nous sommes de pauvres pécheurs, nés dans la corruption, enclins au mal, incapables par nous-mêmes de faire le bien, et qui transgressons tous les jours et en plusieurs manières tes saints commandemens : ce qui fait que nous attirons sur nous, par ton juste jugement, la condamnation et la mort.

Mais, seigneur, nous avons une vive douleur de t'avoir offensé, et nous nous condamnons, nous et nos vices, avec une sérieuse repentance, recourant humblement, à ta grâce, et te suppliant de subvenir à notre misère. Veuille donc avoir pitié de nous, Dieu très-bon, père de miséricorde, et nous pardonner nos péchés, pour l'amour de ton fils Jésus Christ, notre seigneur. Accorde-nous aussi, et nous augmente continuellement les grâces de ton saint-esprit, afin que, reconnoissant de plus en plus nos fautes, et en étant vivement touchés, nous y renoncions de tout notre cœur, et que nous portions des fruits de sainteté et de justice qui te soient agréables par Jesus Christ, notre seigneur. Amen.

*Après le chant d'un pseaume, le ministre fait une seconde prière pour célébrer les perfections de Dieu et lui rendre grâces de ses bienfaits, pour consacrer le jour du dimanché a son service, et pour lui demander son secours dans la prédication de sa parole,*

*Le ministre fait ensuite un sermon sur quelque texte de l'ecriture sainte.*

*Après le sermon, il fait la prière suivante.*

### PRIERE QUI SE LIT APRES LE SERMON DU DIMANCHE MATIN.

O Dieu tout-puissant, nous te remercions de la grâce que tu viens de nous faire d'entendre ta parole. Rends efficaces par ton saint-esprit les salutaires instructions qu'elle nous donne, afin qu'elle demeure en nous avec abondance, et nous remplisse de sagesse.

Souverain Maître du monde, toi qui fais la destinée des nations, nous te prions pour tous les princes et seigneurs à qui tu as confiè le gouvernement des peuples et l'administration de la justice. Nous t'adressons particulièrement nos vœux pour le Roi ; répands sur lui tes bénédictions ; dirige ses vues et ses entreprises, et fais que sous son empire nous voyons régner la religion Chrétienne, la paix et la prospérité.

Nous t'invoquons aussi pour toutes les personnes qui ont quelque autorité au milieu de nous ; bénis leur administration, afin qu'elle tourne à ta gloire, au maintien des mœurs et au bonheur du peuple confié à leurs soins.

Nous te prions, ô Dieu, notre Père et notre Sauveur, pour tous ceux que tu as établis pasteurs dans ton Eglise, et surtout pour ceux à qui tu as donné la conduite de ce troupeau. Anime-les de ton esprit, afin qu'ils s'acquittent de leur ministère avec fidélité et avec zèle, et qu'ils travaillent efficacement à la conversion et au salut des ames.

Protège toutes les Eglises Chrétiennes ; conserve à celle dont nous sommes membres ta protection et les soins de ton amour ; ne laisse jamais éteindre au milieu de nous le précieux flambeau de ta parole, et fais sentir les effets de tes compassions paternelles à toutes les portions de ton héritage.

Dieu des consolations, nous recommandons à ta bonté les peuples que tu visites par les fléaux de la peste, de la guerre, ou de la famine, et toutes les personnes qui sont affligées de maladie, de pauvreté ou d'autres maux, tant du corps que de l'esprit. Nous te prions particulièrement pour les malades et les affligés de cette Eglise, et pour tous les autres qui ont désiré le secours de nos prières. Délivre-les de leurs maux, ô Dieu; mais si tu juges à propos de prolonger leurs épreuves, accorde-leur les soulagemens et les consolations dont ils ont besoin; dispose-les toi-même à la patience et à la résignation, et fais servir leurs afflictions au salut de leurs ames.

Père des miséricordes, qui veux être reconnu pour le Dieu et le sauveur de tout le monde, dans la rédemption faite par ton fils Jésus Christ, fais que ceux qui sont encore privés de ta connoissance, et plongés dans les ténèbres de l'ignorance et de l'erreur, soient éclairés par ta lumière, et conduits au chemin du salut, qui consiste à te reconnoître pour le seul vrai Dieu, et Jésus Christ pour ton envoyé. Enrichis de plus en plus de tes bénédictions ceux que tu as déjà honorés de ton alliance, afin que nous t'adorions tous ensemble comme notre Dieu, notre Créateur et notre Père, et que nous nous soumettions à Jesus Christ, ton fils, comme à notre maitre, à notre législateur, et à notre roi.

Enfin, ô notre Dieu et notre Père, fais-nous la grâce, à nous qui sommes venus ici pour te présenter nos hommages religieux, pour solliciter tes miséricordes et pour écouter ta parole, que, pénétrés du sentiment de notre misère, et convaincus que nos péchés nous rendent indignes d'avoir part à ton royaume, nous nous attachions à ton cher fils Jésus Christ, notre Sauveur; afin qu'éclairés par ses instructions, conduits par son exemple, et animés de son esprit, nous renoncions, à nos péchés, et nous vivions d'une vie nouvelle, qui nous conduise à cette vie éternelle et bienheureuse que tu nous réserves dans le ciel. Exauce nous, Père de grâce; c'est au nom de ton fils que nous t'invoquons:

Notre Père, qui es aux Cieux: Que ton nom soit sanctifié. Que ton règne vienne. Que ta volonté soit faite sur la terre comme au Ciel. Donne-nous aujourd'hui notre pain quotidien. Pardonne-nous nos offenses, comme nous pardonnons à ceux qui nous ont offensés. Et ne nous laisse pas tomber en tentation, mais délivre-nous du mal. Car c'est à toi qu'appartiennent dans tous les siècles le règne, la puissance et la Gloire. Amen.

*Après cette prière, le Ministre récite le Symboles des Apôtres.*

Je crois en Dieu le Père tout-puissant, Créateur du Ciel et de la terre; et en Jésus Christ, son fils unique, notre Seigneur, qui a été conçu du Saint Esprit, et qui est né de la Vierge Marie. Il a souffert sous Ponce Pilate; il a été crucifié; il est mort; il a été enseveli. Il est descendu aux enfers. Le troisième jour il est ressuscité des morts. Il est monté au Ciel. Il s'est assis à la droite de Dieu le Père tout-puissant. De là il viendra pour juger les vivans et les morts. Je crois au Saint Esprit. Je crois la Sainte Eglise Universelle, la communion des saints, la rémission des péchés la résurrection de la chair, et la vie eternelle. Amen.

*On chante encore un ou deux versets de pseaume, et le ministre congédie l'assemblée en ces termes, tirés du livre des Nombres, chap. vi.*

Bénédiction.

Le Seigneur vous bénisse, et vous conserve. Le Seigneur vous regarde d'un œil favorable, et vous soit propice. Le Seigneur tourne sa face vers vous, et vous maintienne en paix et en prospérité. Amen.

*A quoi l'on ajoute, pour avertir le peuple de faire l'aumône, selon la coutume, en sortant du temple, le dimanche et le Jeudi:*

Allez en paix, et souvenez-vous des pauvres, et que le Dieu de paix soit avec vous. Amen.

*Les autres jours on dit:*

Allez en paix, et que le Dieu de paix soit avec vous. Amen.

### *Articles qui doivent être insérés dans les Prières, pour les temps de solemnité.*

### *Avant et après le Jour de Noel.*

Seigneur Dieu, qui, par un effet de ta sagesse adorable et de ton infinie miséricorde, as envoyé ton fils au monde, afin que quiconque croiroit en lui ne pérît point, mais qu'il eût la vie Eternelle, fais que, célébrant la naissance de ce bienheureux Sauveur, comme nous le faisons dans ce temps, nous tâchions surtout de répondre au but de sa venue, qui est de détruire le péché en nous, et de nous faire vivre dans la justice. Que nous embrassions avec foi la doctrine de ce Divin Maître; que nous pratiquions ses préceptes; que nous imitions son exemple: que l'on voie en nous les mêmes sentimens d'humilité, de charité, de douceur et de patience que ce Divin Sauveur a fait paroître lorsqu'il s'est abaissé lui-même, et qu'il s'est rendu obéissant jusqu'à la mort de la Croix. Enfin que ce ne soit plus nous qui vivions, mais que ce soit Jésus Christ qui vive en nous, jusqu'à ce que tu nous fasses vivre et régner éternellement avec lui.

### *Avant et après Pâques.*

Père Céleste, qui n'as point épargné ton propre Fils, mais qui l'as livré pour nous à la mort honteuse et douloureuse de la croix, afin que croyant en lui nous ne périssions point, mais que nous ayons la vie éternelle, fais que dans ce temps où nous célébrons ces merveilles de ton amour, nous y répondions par une foi vive, une repentance sincère, et un attachement inviolable à ton service. Que célébrant la Pâque Chrétienne avec ces dispositions, nous ayons communion d'esprit et de cœur avec notre Sauveur. Qu'en annonçant ainsi sa mort, nous mourions nous-mêmes au péché. Qu'en publiant sa résurrection, nous sortions du tombeau de nos vices pour vivre d'une vie nouvelle, jusqu'à ce qu'après notre mort tu tires nos corps de la poudre, pour les rendre conformes au corps glorieux de notre Sauveur, et pour nous faire vivre et régner éternellement avec lui.

### *Avant et après l'Ascension.*

Grand Dieu, qui, après l'abaissement et les souffrances de ton cher fils Jésus Christ, notre seigneur, l'as souverainement élevé, lui as donné un nom au dessus de tous les nom, et l'as fait asseoir à la droite de ta majesté, dans les lieux très-hauts, fais que, pensant à l'ascension glorieuse de ce Divin Sauveur, qui est arrivée dans ce temps, nous lui rendions toujours l'honneur et l'obéissance qui lui est due. Que nous le reconnoissions pour notre roi; que nous travaillions à avancer son règne, et que nous fassions consister tout notre bonheur dans sa communion. Qu'étant ressuscités avec lui, nous nous détachions des choses de la terre, nous cherchions les choses qui sont du ciel, où il est assis à ta droite, afin que quand il paroîtra dans la grande et dernière journée, nous soyons du nombre de ceux qui paroîtront avec lui revêtus de gloire.

### *Avant et après la Pentecôte.*

O Dieu, qui répandis autrefois ton Saint Esprit sur tes Apôtres et sur toute ton Eglise, et qui donnas par là une preuve illustre de la vérité de ton evangile, fais que ce grand événement dont nous devons célébrer (ou nous avons célébré) la mémoire, fasse une vive impression sur nous; qu'il serve à fortifier notre foi, à soutenir notre espérance, et à nous affermir dans la pratique de tous les devoirs du Christianisme: que notre Esprit, ô notre Dieu, ton Esprit de lumière et de sainteté, ton Esprit de joie et de consolation, ne nous abandonne jamais; qu'il habite toujours dans nos cœurs, et que nous suivions ses mouvemens dans tout le cours de notre vie. Qu'il produise en nous la charité, l'esprit patient, la bonté, la fidélité, la douceur, la tempérance, afin qu'après avoir été les temples de ton Esprit sur la terre, nous soyons reçus un jour dans le temple de ta gloire, où nous te louerons et te bénirons éternellement.

### *Avant et après la Cène de Septembre.*

Et puisque tu nous appelles dans ce temps à nous souvenir des souffrances et de la mort de ton fils Jésus Christ, notre Seigneur, par le Sacrement de la Sainte Cène, fais-nous la grâce, ô notre Dieu, d'être vivement touchés de cette mort, de la célébrer par nos louanges, et de nous mettre en état d'en recevoir les fruits salutaires, par une foi vive, par une vraie repentance, par un ardent amour pour toi, et par une charité sincère pour notre prochain: de sorte que les sacrés symboles du corps et du sang de notre Sauveur, que nous devons recevoir (ou que nous avons reçus) soient véritablement pour nous, les sceaux de ta grâce, et les gages de tes promesses, jusqu'à ce que nous en recevions le parfait accomplissement dans le Ciel.

### *Prière pour le Jour de Noel.*

Mes Frères, nous sommes encore assemblés pour célébrer avec toute l'Eglise Chrétienne la naissance de notre Sauveur, pour réfléchir sur les avantages que cet événement nous procure, et pour ouvrir nos âmes à tous les sentimens dont un tel bienfait doit les pénétrer.

Qu'il est doux, Seigneur, qu'il est consolant pour nous de nous approcher de toi dans ce jour solemnel où nous célébrons le plus grand des bienfaits ; le don que tu as fait de ton fils au monde, pour nous ouvrir l'asile de tes compassions, et traiter avec nous une alliance de grâce dont il est le Médiateur ! A ta voix puissante l'univers sortit du néant. Tu as rempli les cieux et la terre des merveilles de ta sagesse, des prodiges de ton pouvoir, et des effets signalés de ton inépuisable bonté. L'ordre établi dans tous tes ouvrages reste inaltérable, parce que ta Providence veille sur cet Univers. L'Homme surtout, chef-d'œuvre de tes mains sur la terre, a reçu de ta libéralité les priviléges les plus glorieux. L'intelligence qui l'éclaire est un rayon de ta divinité. Tu l'as rendu capable de te connoître et de t'aimer. Tu lui as inspiré cette bienveillance pour ses semblables qui facilite tous ses devoirs envers eux, et qui fait le charme et le bien de la société. Tu as imprimé dans son cœur un désir ardent de l'immortalité, et tu as permis qu'il élevât jusqu'à toi ses regards et ses espérances. Mais c'est surtout dans l'envoi de ton fils, dans l'œuvre de la rédemption du genre humain, que toutes tes perfections se sont hautement manifestées. Quoique les cieux racontassent ta gloire, et que la voix de l'univers invitât les hommes à te reconnoître et à t'adorer comme leur unique souverain, des ténèbres épaisses couvroient toute la terre. On adoroit en ta présence d'autres Dieux que toi. Aussi corrompu que superstitieux, l'homme dégradé s'éloignoit de plus en plus de son origine céleste, et effaçoit en lui les traits augustes de ton image. Tu jetas alors, ô Eternel, du haut de ton trône un regard de compassion sur les coupables mortels. Ton fils bien-aimé, ta plus parfaite image, descendit du séjour de la gloire pour les sauver, vécut au milieu d'eux dans la bassesse, et mourut dans l'opprobre et dans les tourmens. Quand nous pensons à cette multitude d'oracles qui depuis tant de siècles l'avoient annoncé, et qui tous ont été accomplis dans sa personne : aux grands et heureux changemens que sa religion a produit sur la terre : quand nous considérons la sublimité de sa doctrine, la sainteté de ses préceptes, la grandeur de ses miracles, l'éminence de ses vertus et la magnificence de ses promesses ; si nos bouches, Seigneur, ne peuvent exprimer toute notre admiration et notre gratitude, nos cœurs du moins en sont profondément pénétrés. Qu'est-ce que de l'homme mortel que tu te sois souvenu de lui, et des fils des hommes, que tu les aies ainsi visités dans tes compassions! Tu as tant aimé le monde que tu as envoyé ton fils au monde, afin que quiconque croiroit en lui ne pérît point, mais qu'il eût la vie éternelle. L'Eglise qu'il a fondée a célébré de siècle en siècle, et célèbre aujourd'hui partout sa naissance glorieuse. Depuis le soleil levant jusqu'au soleil couchant, tous ses disciples élèvent vers toi une voix d'actions de grâces, et font retentir ce chant de triomphe: Gloire soit à Dieu, au plus haut des Cieux; paix sur la terre; bienveillance envers les hommes! Cette acclamation des anges, répétée par toutes les communions chrétiennes, est un hymne universel qui s'élève devant ton trône. Et nous, Seigneur, pour qui cet astre bienfaisant brille sans aucun nuage, nous dont la foi n'a pour objet que l'Evangile dans toute sa pureté; nous qui, professant le Christianisme dans sa première simplicité, pouvons t'offrir le culte que tu nous demandes, ne nous livrerons-nous pas aux plus vifs transports de joie, de reconnoissance et d'amour!

Cependant, ô Dieu, quand nous pensons à la foiblesse de notre foi, aux imperfections de notre obéissance, nous éprouvons la plus grande confusion. La piété d'un grand nombre s'est tout-à-fait refroidie. La qualité de Chrétien, qu'ils devroient regarder comme leur plus beau titre, a moins de prix à leurs yeux que les distinctions mondaines, et n'est plus pour eux qu'un vain nom. Il en est même qui ne reconnoissent plus ton fils bien-aimé pour leur Sauveur et pour leur maître. Au lieu d'être sensibles aux biens spirituels, et de nous livrer avec ardeur aux soins de notre salut, nous sommes tièdes et sans activité quand il s'agit de ces grands objets. Ce qui nous touche presque uniquement, ce sont des plaisirs frivoles; c'est l'accroissement de nos fortunes, notre avancement dans le monde, la prospérité de nos affaires temporelles. Quelques vrais adorateurs élèvent encore vers toi des prières ferventes, et réalisent au milieu de nous le vrai Christianisme par leurs sentimens et par leur conduite; mais, hélas! leur nombre diminue de jour en jour. S'ils brillent comme des flambeaux au milieu de cette génération corrompue, ce n'est que de loin en loin, et leur exemple ne suffit pas pour la convertir.

Père de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, protecteur immortel de la religion qu'il apporta de ta part au monde, aie pitié de ton Eglise; conserve le dépôt que tu lui as confié. Guéris nos maladies spirituelles. Ramène ceux qui s'éloignent de toi. Que les effets de ta grâce, et l'efficace de nos solemnités triomphent enfin de leur indifférence. Combats toi-même pour ton Eglise, et arrache du milieu d'elle toute racine d'impiété. Ranime le zèle de ceux qui te sont restés fidèles. Donneleur la persévérance dont ils ont besoin pour édifier leurs frères en se sauvant eux-mêmes.

Et comme c'est dans ta parole que nous devons chercher les règles de notre conduite, accompagne du secours de ton Esprit la lecture que nous allons en faire; en sorte qu'étant reçue dans des cœurs bien disposés, elle découvre à nos yeux toutes les merveilles de ta loi; elle ennoblisse nos sentimens, elle nous console, elle nous fortifie contre les tentations, et nous fasse marcher avec assurance dans le chemin qui conduit à toi. C'est ce que nous te demandons au nom de ton fils bien-aimé, auquel, comme à toi, Père Céleste, et au Saint Esprit, soit honneur, louange et gloire, dès maintenant et à jamais.

*On chantera dans cet endroit deux versets du Cantique II. Après quoi le ministre lira le premier chapitre de Saint Luc, et il ajoutera ce qui suit.*

*Prions Dieu.*

O Dieu, qui viens de nous retracer par la lecture de ta parole les circonstances glorieuses de la naissance de notre Sauveur, et les sentimens que ce grand événement doit nous inspirer, imprime tellement dans nos cœurs ces idées salutaires, que notre amour pour toi, et notre reconnoissance pour notre Divin Rédempteur acquièrent tous les jours de nouvelles forces. Que l'on voie en nous les mêmes sentimens d'humilité, de charité, de patience qu'il a fait paroître lorsqu'il s'est abaissé luimême en se rendant semblable à nous en toutes choses excepté dans le péché; en naissant dans l'obscurité, en vivant dans l'indigence, et en se rendant obéissant jusqu'à la mort de la croix. Enfin, que ce ne soit plus nous qui vivions, mais que ce soit Jésus Christ qui vive en nous, jusqu'à ce qu'il nous fasse vivre et régner éternellement avec lui.

Dieu Puissant, dont la Providence gouverne le monde, et dont le nom invoqué sur les villes et sur les peuples est leur rempart le plus assuré, nous recommandons à ta protection souveraine toutes les nations de la terre, celles surtout qui, n'adorant qu'un seul Dieu, et célébrant comme nous, dans ce jour solemnel, la naissance de notre Sauveur, ont aussi pour l'éternité une même espérance. Protège l'Etat et l'Eglise dont nous sommes membres; bénis les personnes constituées en autorité au milieu de nous. Qu'elles emploient le pouvoir dont elles sont revêtues à faire révérer ton nom, à soutenir la religion et les bonnes mœurs, et à procurer le bonheur du peuple que tu as confié à leurs soins.

Accorde aux pasteurs que tu nous as donnés une abondante mesure de ton Esprit, pour qu'ils s'acquittent dignement des emplois dont ils sont revêtus. Qu'ils instruisent par leurs leçons; que par leurs efforts soutenus ils ramènent au bien ceux qui s'égarent, et qu'ayant sans cesse les yeux sur Jésus, le chef et le consommateur de la foi, ils conduisent le troupeau qu'il leur a confié, en marchant au milieu de lui, comme Jésus a marché lui-même.

Père du Genre Humain, tout ce qui respire s'attend à ton secours et à tes compassions. Jette un regard favorable sur tous les peuples et sur tous les particuliers qui sentent la pesanteur de ta main. Retire tes fléaux de dessus les nations affligées, et que chaque peuple prévienne les châtimens que le vice et l'impiété attirent inévitablement. Console dans leurs diverses épreuves tous ceux dont l'âme abattue ne trouve de repos qu'en s'élevant à toi. Détache du monde les vieillards, ceux dont la santé décline, et agis par ta grâce sur chacun de nous, pour que nous ne nous y attachions pas trop fortement. Soulage les malades, accorde leur la patience dont ils ont besoin pour supporter leurs maux; que pleins de confiance en ta miséricorde, ils attendent avec tranquillité, et en se préparant à leur mort, le moment où tu les recevras dans ton sein.

Nous te supplions, ô Dieu, d'agréer le culte que nous venons de te rendre. Que les résolutions que nous avons prises, secondées de ta grâce, triomphent des tentations qui nous assiègent, des maximes dangereuses, de l'influence des mauvais exemples, et de l'esprit de frivolité et de corruption qui règne dans le monde. Qu'en public et dans nos maisons nous vivions sous tes yeux comme étant en ta présence. Et qu'appelés par ton fils à recevoir dans l'éternité les récompenses les plus glorieuses, nous nous conduisions par des pensées rélevées, que nous vivions dès à présent comme des citoyens du ciel, et que nous parvenions ainsi à cette félicité sans bornes que tu nous as destinée dès la fondation du monde.

Exauce-nous, ô notre Dieu, au nom de ton fils bien-aimé.

Notre Père, &c.

*Après l'oraison dominicale et le symbole des apôtres, on chante encore un ou deux versets du II^e. cantique, et le ministre finit en donnant la bénédiction.*

### *Prière pour le premier Jour de l'Année.*

O notre Dieu et notre Père Céleste, nous continuons à élever dans ce jour solemnel nos esprits et nos cœurs vers toi, et nous te consacrons de nouveau l'année que nous commençons aujourd'hui, en implorant ta bénédiction sur le culte que nous allons te rendre, et sur les prières que nous allons faire monter devant ton trône.

Tout dans l'univers nous parle de toi, ô notre Dieu. Les cieux et la terre sont l'ouvrage de tes mains, et les objets continuels des soins de ta Providence. Chaque fois que le soleil se lève, en éclairant les merveilles de ton pouvoir, il annonce ta souveraineté sur tout ce qui existe, et il fait briller à nos yeux ton infinie majesté. Chaque nuit aussi publie ta grandeur; nous la voyons empreinte dans le firmament. Les saisons dans leur cours, et l'année dans tous ses changemens te célèbrent sans cesse; elles font passer devant nous les effets innombrables de ta libéralité, et les signes de ta magnificence.

Que tu es grand, dominateur suprême de ce monde que tu as formé, seul immuable, seul indépendant, seul infini! Du haut du trône où tu règnes, tu vois les années s'enfuir, les siècles s'accumuler, la terre vieillir, et les générations humaines se succéder avec la plus grande rapidité. Toi seul es l'Eternel, et c'est le nom que tu as choisi d'ancienneté. Tu as fondé la terre au commencement, et les cieux sont l'ouvrage de tes mains. Ils périront; mais tu subsistes toujours. Ils se détruiront comme un vêtement; mais toi, tu es toujours le même, et tes années ne finiront point. Mille ans sont devant toi comme un jour, un jour est comme mille ans. C'est de toi que nous tenons le mouvement et l'être.

C'est à toi que nous devons rapporter l'existence dont tu nous fais jouir. Puisque nous ne respirons que par ta bonté, tu exiges que nous ne vivions que pour te plaire. Tu veux que dans l'aurore de notre vie nous tournions vers toi nos premiers regards. Tu nous demandes de nous souvenir de toi dans la vigueur de notre jeunesse. Notre âge mûr t'appartient encore, et dans le déclin de nos années tu es notre consolation et notre espérance. Tu ne nous as accordé la vie présente que comme le prélude d'une bienheureuse immortalite; c'est pour la mettre en évidence que ton fils bien-aimé est descendu sur la terre, qu'il a triomphé de la mort par sa résurrection, et assuré par là à ses disciples une immuable félicité dans les cieux.

Que nous serions heureux, Seigneur, si n'oubliant jamais que notre vie est incertaine et périssable, et qu'il n'y a de vrais biens que ceux que l'on trouve auprès de toi, et de vie vraiment désirable que celle dont la mort doit mettre en possession les gens de bien, nous réglions sur ces vérités consolantes nos sentimens et toute notre conduite! Mais nous nous attachons à la terre comme si nous ne devions jamais la quitter, et nous oublions que ce monde passe, et sa convoitise; que celui-là seul qui fait ta volonté demeure éternellement. Insensés que nous sommes! Enivrés par de faux plaisirs, éblouis par de vains honneurs ou par des richesses périssables, nous employons presque toute notre vie à en rechercher la possession. Chaque jour le soleil se lève, et chaque année il recommence son cours sans qu'il éclaire les progrès que nous devrions faire dans la sanctification. Les avertissemens que nous recevons en avançant dans notre carrière ne font aucune impression sur nous. Nous nous affligeons de la perte de nos proches et de nos amis, mais sans réfléchir assez sur nous-mêmes et sur l'instabilité de notre vie; les ravages de la mort au milieu de tout ce qui nous entoure, n'augmentent pas notre vigilance, et ne redoublent pas nos efforts pour le salut. Nos propres maladies, les accidens qui nous menacent ou qui tombent inopinément sur nous, les chagrins que nous ressentons, la décadence de nos forces, et l'accroissement de nos infirmités ne produisent pas en nous l'effet salutaire qui devroit en être le fruit; et à quelque âge que nous soyons, nous pensons presque tous beaucoup plus aux choses visibles qui sont passagères, qu'aux invisibles qui sont éternelles.

Nous gémissons, grand Dieu, de l'excès de notre foiblesse, et nous déplorons en ta présence notre corruption. Couvre de ton support, et pardonne tant de péchés par lesquels nous avons provoqué ta justice; toutes les fautes en particulier par lesquelles nous t'avons offensé pendant le cours de l'Année qui vient de s'écouler. Arrache ce bandeau funeste qui cache à nos yeux nos véritables intérêts. Inspire-nous cette élévation de sentimens, cette juste idée des vrais biens et de la vraie grandeur, cette vive et profonde reconnoissance pour tous tes bienfaits, ce dévouement sans bornes à ta volonté, ce délicieux avant-goût de la félicité céleste, qui nous transforment en de nouvelles créatures. Que nous rachetions le temps dont nous avons fait un mauvais usage, par le bon emploi de celui que tu nous accordes encore; et que tous ensemble, chacun dans notre place, nous concourions à la gloire de ton nom, à l'avancement du règne de ton fils, et à l'édification de ton Eglise.

C'est de toi seul, ô Dieu, que dépend la durée de nos jours. Si tu juges convenable d'en abréger le cours et de nous dire bientôt: Fils des hommes, rentrez dans la poussière; pourquoi murmurerions-nous contre cet arrêt? Nous le savons, et nous t'en rendons grâces, la mort n'est pour tes enfans qu'un paisible sommeil; notre Sauveur en a brisé l'aiguillon; nous en triompherons nous-mêmes par une bienheureuse résurrection, et elle est devenue la porte de de l'immortalité. Nous nous résignons donc entièrement à ta volonté; et dès à présent nous voulons nous préparer à notre fin. Si tu prolonges notre vie, c'est à toi, Seigneur, que nous voulons consacrer les années qui nous restent encore à vivre: en commençant celle-ci, nous renouvelons cet engagement; et comme c'est uniquement par ta grâce que nous jouissons de la lumière, c'est avant tout à mériter ton approbation, à procurer le plus grand bien de nos frères, et à travailler à notre salut, que nos jours seront employés. Ta parole, que nous allons lire pour nous affermir dans ce bon dessein, est le trésor de nos âmes et le bouclier de notre foi. Que ta grâce toute puissante en accompagne la méditation. Que les pieux sentimens exprimés dans les cantiques par lesquels nous continuerons à nourrir notre dévotion, élèvent aussi nos âmes jusqu'à toi. Nous te demandons toutes ces grâces au nom de Jésus Christ, notre seigneur, auquel, comme à toi, Père Céleste, et au Saint-Esprit, soit honneur, louange et gloire dès maintenant et à jamais. Amen.

*On chantera dans cet endroit deux versets du Cantique XII. Après quoi le ministre lira un chapitre de l'Ecriture Sainte, et il ajoutera ce qui suit.*

### PRIONS DIEU.

O Dieu, dont la parole nous déclare avec tant de force ce que la solemnité de ce jour publie hautement, c'est que nous n'avons point ici-bas de cité permanente, que la figure de ce monde passe, que notre vie n'est qu'une vapeur qui se dissipe, un songe qui s'enfuit avec le réveil; imprime tellement ces importantes vérités dans nos ames, qu'elles nous détrompent des illusions qui nous séduisent, des maximes du monde qui nous corrompent, et de l'influence dangereuse des mauvais exemples. Puisque tu es notre Père, et que toutes nos espérances, soit pour le temps, soit pour l'éternité, reposent sur toi; enseigne-nous à placer notre cœur là seulement où est notre vrai trésor; que nous le consacrions entièrement à toi, pour que tu en ennoblisses les affections, et que tu en satisfasses les vastes désirs. Et ne permets pas que des disciples de ton fils, du prince de la vie, du vainqueur du tombeau, de celui que tu as choisi pour nous introduire avec lui dans les cieux, perdent jamais de vue une aussi grande destinée.

Souverain Maître de l'univers, tu es l'Arbitre absolu du sort des états. Tu élèves selon qu'il te plaît, ou tu abaisses les nations. Leurs succès et leurs revers, le bonheur ou l'infortune de chacun des membres qui les composent, dépendent entièrement de ta volonté. Protège et couvre de ton bouclier l'état dont nous sommes membres. Fais-y fleurir la religion, les bonnes mœurs, la concorde, l'abondance et la paix. Bénis les personnes constituées en autorité au milieu de nous. Que ton esprit de sagesse, de force et de piété dirige toutes leurs délibérations. Que le bonheur public soit le grand objet de tous leurs travaux, et qu'il en soit aussi la récompense.

Nous te prions pour la paix et la prospérité des nations; éloigne les fléaux qui pourroient les troubler; arrête au milieu d'elles les progrès de la corruption; veuille étendre partout l'empire de la vraie religion, de la vertu, et le règne de la justice.

Que les pasteurs de cette Eglise, qui bénissent aujourd'hui ton peuple de ta part, participent aussi à tes bénédictions. Et puisque l'avancement du règne de ton fils leur est confié, qu'ils y travaillent toujours avec un saint zèle. Que leurs succès soient dès à présent la douce récompense de leurs travaux, en attendant le salaire que tu réserves dans le ciel à ceux qui auront amené plusieurs ames à la justice.

Puisque la vie dont nous jouissons est un don de ta main, exauce les vœux mutuels que nous formons en ce jour pour la conservation de notre santé, et pour la durée de nos jours ; veuille en disposer du moins comme tu le jugeras le plus convenable, car ta sagesse l'emporte infiniment sur la nôtre, et tu vois mieux que nous-mêmes en quoi consiste notre plus grand bien. Resserre les liens qui nous unissent à nos proches, à nos amis, à nos compatriotes, et ne permets pas cependant que nous soyons pour cela trop attachés à la terre, et moins prêts à la quitter quand tu voudras nous retirer à toi. Répands sur notre carrière les douceurs innocentes que tu as semées pour ceux qui sont droits de cœur. Garantis-nous des accidens qui nous menacent. Veille sur les personnes qui nous sont chères. Bénis-nous dans nos familles, dans nos biens, dans nos justes entreprises, dans nos différentes vocations. Accorde-nous cette heureuse tranquillité, cette exemption de douleurs et de peines, ce contentement d'esprit, aux-quels des hommes sages et des Chrétiens doivent borner leurs désirs. Et si tu veux nous éprouver par des afflictions, inspire-nous la patience, le courage, et la résignation à ta volonté qui nous sont nécessaires.

Père plein de miséricorde, soulage et console tant d'indigens et de malheureux répandus sur toute la terre, ceux en particulier qui sont membres de cette Eglise, et qui implorent avec nous ton secours et tes compassions. Aie pitié des nations affligées par la guerre, les dissensions, la disette, ou d'autres fléaux ; et que les peuples favorisés de tes bienfaits n'arrêtent pas par leur ingratitude le cours de tes grâces.

Enfin, seigneur, nous finissons nos prières en nous remettant entre tes mains paternelles, soit pour le cours de cette année, soit pour le reste de notre vie. Que ta bénédiction repose sans cesse sur nous, et nous accompagne jusqu'à notre fin. Et quand le temps fera place à l'éternité, et que la mort aura été engloutie pour toujours, mets le comble à tous tes bienfaits, en nous accordant cette félicité sans mélange et sans bornes après laquelle notre ame soupire, et que tu as promise à tes fidèles serviteurs.

Exauce-nous, ô notre Dieu. C'est au nom de ton fils que nous t'invoquons.

Notre Père, &c.

*Après l'oraison dominicale et le symbole des apôtres, on chante encore un ou deux versets du XII$^{e}$. Cantique, et le ministre finit en donnant la bénédiction.*

### LA LITURGIE DU BAPTEME.

Notre aide soit au nom de Dieu, qui a fait le Ciel et la terre. Amen.

*Le Ministre s'adressant au Père et au Parrain, leur dit:*

Vous présentez cet enfant pour être baptisé?

*Réponse.* Oui.

Notre Seigneur nous enseigne que nous devons naître de nouveau si nous voulons entrer dans le royaume de Dieu. Cela signifie, qu'il doit se faire un très-grand changement en nous lorsque nous entrons dans la Communion de notre Sauveur, et que nous devenons membres de son Eglise. Il faut que nous renoncions à tout ce qu'il y a d'impur et de vicieux dans nos personnes, et que nous nous consacrions à Dieu, par une application sincère et constante à tous les devoirs de la piété, de la tempérance et de la justice. Si nous ne devenons de cette manière des hommes nouveaux, nous ne saurions avoir part aux avantages du Christianisme, et en particulier à la gloire du royaume de Dieu. Ce changement nous est représenté d'une manière très-sensible par la cérémonie du Baptême. Nous y apprenons que, comme l'eau sert à nettoyer nos corps, de même nous trouvons dans la Communion de notre Sauveur tout ce qui est nécessaire pour purifier nos ames; et que, comme Dieu nous présente sa grâce, c'est-à-dire, le pardon de nos péchés et le secours de son Esprit, lorsqu'il nous reçoit dans son alliance, nous aussi, de notre côté, nous devons nous purifier des souillures du péché, vivre d'une vie nouvelle, conforme à l'Esprit de Jésus Christ et aux préceptes de son évangile.

Telles sont les vérités qui nous sont représentées dans le Baptême: nous nous engageons à les inculquer à nos enfans lorsque nous les consacrons à Dieu par cette sainte cérémonie, afin que quand ils seront parvenus à l'âge de raison, ils connoissent leurs obligations comme Chrétiens, et qu'ils se conduisent d'une manière digne de leur vocation, pour avoir part aux biens de l'alliance de Dieu, qui ne sont destinés qu'aux vrais fidèles; car, comme le dit St. Pierre, le baptême qui nous sauve, c'est l'engagement d'une bonne conscience devant Dieu.

Dieu, de son côté, qui étend ses grâces sur les enfans, aussi bien que sur les pères, ne peut que regarder d'un œil favorable ceux que nous lui offrons par le Baptême. Et notre Sauveur, qui reçut avec tant de bonté les petits enfans qu'on lui présentoit, qui leur imposa les mains et les recommanda à Dieu, son père, n'est pas moins disposé à recevoir et à bénir ceux qui lui sont présentés dans son Eglise.

Ainsi, mes Frères, joignons-nous tous ensemble pour consacrer cet enfant à Dieu, et pour le recommander à sa grâce par notre Prière.

Seigneur Dieu, Père Eternel, puisqu'il t'a plu, par ta bonté infinie, de nous promettre que tu seras notre Dieu et le Dieu de nos enfans, nous te supplions de vouloir accomplir cette promesse dans l'enfant ici prèsent, qui est né d'un Père et d'une mère que tu as reçus dans ton Eglise. Nous te l'offrons, nous te le consacrons, ô notre Dieu. daigne le prendre sous ta protection, et le recevoir dans ta sainte alliance. Et comme tout le genre humain est dans un état de corruption et de misère, qu'il te plaise de te déclarer le Dieu et le Sauveur de cet enfant, et de le sanctifier par ton Esprit; afin que, quand il sera parvenu à l'âge de raison, il t'adore comme son seul Dieu, et qu'étant dans la communion de ton fils, il obtienne toutes les grâces que tu nous as promises dans ton évangile; qu'il soit purifié de ses péchés; qu'il devienne une nouvelle créature formée à ton image, dans la sainteté et dans la justice; et qu'il ait part à l'héritage céleste que tu destines à tes enfans. Exauce-nous, Père de miséricorde. Nous t'invoquons au nom de ton fils Jésus Christ, notre seigneur. Amen.

*Après cette prière, le ministre parle ainsi à ceux qui présentent l'enfant:*

Puisque vous présentez cet enfant pour être reçu dans l'Eglise de Dieu, vous promettez qu'à mesure qu'il avancera en âge, vous prendrez soin qu'il soit instruit dans la doctrine Chrétienne que Dieu nous a révélée dans les livres sacrés de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, et dont nous avons un abrégé dans la confession de foi qui commence ainsi : je crois en Dieu, &c. Vous l'engagerez aussi à vivre selon la règle que le seigneur nous a donnée dans sa loi, qui se rapporte à ces deux devoirs généraux, d'aimer Dieu de tout notre cœur, et notre prochain comme nous-mêmes : afin que cet enfant, renonçant à lui-même et à tous ses mauvais penchans, se consacre de bonne heure à Dieu, et qu'en édifiant l'Eglise il avance son propre salut par Jésus Christ, notre Sauveur.

N'est-ce pas ce que vous promettez ?

*Le Père et le parrain répondent :* oui.

*Le ministre dit :*

Dieu vous fasse la grâce d'accomplir votre promesse.

*Ensuite le ministre descendant de la chaire, verse de l'eau sur l'enfant, et en prononçant son nom, il dit :*

N. N. je te baptise au nom du Père, du fils et du Saint Esprit. Amen.

### FORMULAIRE POUR RECEVOIR LES CATECHUMENES A LA SAINTE CENE.

*Après le sermon, le pasteur parlant à toute l'assemblée, dit :*

Mes Frères, il s'agit présentement de recevoir d'une manière solemnelle, à la participation de la Sainte Cène, les jeunes gens que vous voyez ici, qui ont donné, dans un examen particulier, des preuves suffisantes de leur instruction. Ils viennent prendre l'engagement sacré, de professer le pur Christianisme et d'en remplir tous les devoirs, afin de pouvoir jouir désormais de tous les avantages que Jésus Christ accorde aux Chrétiens.

Cette action est importante. Elle doit nous faire tous rentrer en nous-mêmes, pour rappeler dans notre mémoire les grâces qui se trouvent dans la Communion de notre Sauveur, et les engagemens que nous avons pris avec lui. Apportons-y toute l'attention dont nous sommes capables.

Nous commencerons par marquer à ces jeunes gens à quoi s'engagent ceux qui entrent dans l'Eglise Chrétienne ; après quoi, nous prierons Dieu qu'il nous fasse à tous la grâce de remplir exactement ces devoirs.

*Le pasteur s'adressant aux Catéchumènes leur dit:*

1. *Demande.* Vous donc qui souhaitez d'être admis à la Sainte Cène, et qui avez été instruits des vérités de l'évangile, êtes-vous si bien persuadés de ces vérités que rien ne puisse vous fair renoncer à la religion Chrétienne, et que vous soyez prêts à tout souffrir plutôt que d'en abandonner la profession?

*Les Catéchumènes répondent:*

***R.*** Oui.

2. ***D.*** Vous êtes-vous éprouvés vous mêmes, et êtes-vous résolus à renoncer au péché, et à régler toute votre vie sur les Commandemens de Dieu?

***R.*** Oui.

3. ***D.*** Comme dans le sacrement de la Sainte Cène nous faisons profession d'être tous un même corps, voulez-vous vivre dans la paix et dans la charité, aimer sincèrement vos frères, et leur en donner des marques dans toutes les occasions?

***R.*** Oui.

4. ***D.*** Pour affermir toujours plus votre foi et votre piété, promettez-vous de vous appliquer avec soin à la lecture et à la méditation de la parole de Dieu, et à la prière; de fréquenter assidument les saintes assemblées, et d'employer tous les autres moyens que la Providence vous fournira pour avancer votre salut?

***R.*** Oui.

5. ***D.*** Confirmez-vous donc sincèrement le vœu de votre Baptême, qui vous oblige à combattre vos passions, à vous consacrer à Dieu et à Jésus Christ, votre Sauveur, et à vivre dans sa communion selon la tempérance, selon la justice, et selon la piété?

***R.*** Oui.

*Le pasteur s'adressant toujours aux catéchumènes continue ainsi:*

En conséquence de ces déclarations et de ces promesses, je vous admets, en présence de cette sainte assemblée, à participer à la cène du seigneur, afin que vous jouissiez de tous les priviléges de la nouvelle alliance, que Dieu a traitée avec nous par son fils.

Sentez bien l'importance et la force de l'engagement que vous prenez, et souvenez-vous-en toute votre vie. Pensez que c'est à Dieu, notre Créateur, et à Jésus Christ, notre Rédempteur et notre Juge, que vous faites ces promesses, et que du soin que vous prendrez de les remplir, dépend votre bonheur ou votre malheur éternel. Conduisez-vous donc, à l'avenir, d'une manière digne de votre vocation. Que la lumière de vos bonnes œuvres luise devant less hommes. Vivez dans l'humilité et dans l'obéissance due à tous vos supérieurs. Attachez-vous à la piété, à la charité, et à toutes les vertus chrétiennes. Travaillez à perfectionner votre sanctification par la crainte du seigneur.

Pour cet effet, implorez tous les jours le secours de Dieu. Nourrissez-vous de sa parole. Joignez la vigilance à la prière. Evitez les mauvaises compagnies. Fuyez les désirs de la jeunesse, la dissipation, l'oisiveté, la vanité, l'amour du plaisir et de l'indépendance.

En vous dévouant ainsi à Dieu dès vos premières années, vous vous accoutumerez si bien à remplir vos devoirs, que le joug du Seigneur vous paroîtra doux, et son fardeau léger, et que ce sera une joie pour vous de faire ce qui est droit. Dieu, de son côté, vous bénira. Il vous donnera sa paix, qui surpasse toute intelligence. L'œil de l'Eternel sera sur vous, et ses oreilles seront attentives à vos prières. Ne craignez rien; celui qui est en vous est plus puissant que le monde; sa vertu s'accomplira dans vos infirmités. Vous pourrez tout en Christ, qui nous fortifie. A l'heure de la mort, vous serez soutenus par l'espérance d'une bienheureuse résurrection; et après avoir eu ici-bas pour fruit la sainteté, vous aurez à la fin la vie eternelle.

*Puis, le pasteur parlant à toute l'assemblée, dit:*

Vous, mes frères, qui voyez aujourd'hui ces jeunes gens entrer dans l'Eglise, et former ainsi une liaison plus particulière avec vous, redoublez aussi votre affection, et les sentimens de votre charité pour eux. Unissons-nous tous ensemble, comme les membres d'un même corps, et prions Dieu avec ardeur qu'il répande sur nous sa grâce, et qu'il nous conduise par son Esprit.

### PRIERE.

Seigneur, notre Dieu et notre père céleste, qui t'es formé un Eglise sur la terre, et qui as promis de la protéger jusqu'à la fin des siècles, pour l'élever ensuite dans ta gloire, nous te présentons ces jeunes gens, qui sont abattus devant toi, pour être solemnellement reçus dans cette sainte société. Tu les y as déjà appelés par les promesses de ton alliance, qui sont faites à nous et à nos enfans, et tu as voulu que cet avantage de leur naissance fût scellé dans leurs personnes par le Baptême. Mais comme ils ne purent, à cause de la foiblesse de leur âge, ni sentir alors le prix de tes bienfaits, ni te donner eux-mêmes les assurances de leur fidélité, ils viennent aujourd'hui se consacrer à ton service, et te supplier de les regarder comme tes enfans. Ils ont appris à te connoître, ô notre Dieu, et Jésus Christ, que tuas envoyé. Ils sont persuadés qu'il n'y a point de salut par aucun autre, et ils souhaitent d'avoir part aux précieux avantages qui nous sont offerts dans ton alliance. O Dieu, agrée ces dispositions de leur cœur, et reçois-les dans la communion de ton fils. Ils promettent d'obéir à tes lois ; ils jurent en ta présence qu'ils te seront fidèles. Bénis ces saintes résolutions, et donne-leur la force de les exécuter. Fais, Seigneur, que soutenus par ton secours, ils aiment avec ardeur ta vérité ; qu'ils travaillent pour la connoître toujours plus parfaitement, qu'ils en fassent une profession constante jusqu'à la fin de leurs jours, et que toute leur conduite soit celle de citoyens du ciel. Que le sacrement, auquel ils participeront, soit accompagné pour eux d'une nouvelle mesure de ta grâce ; et qu'au sortir de cette vie, ils obtiennent ce qui est le but et le prix de leur foi, le salut éternel de leur ame.

O Dieu tout-puissant, nous te bénissons de ce que tu conserves cette Eglise, et de ce que parmi les orages qui en ont reversé tant d'autres tu l'as soutenue, et tu lui donnes encore la consolation de recevoir de nouveaux enfans. Fais-y toujour fleurir la vérité et la piété. Fais que tous ceux qui la composent soutiennent l'honneur de leur religion par une vie sainte, et soient un jour reçus dans la Jérusalem céleste, avec tous les justes, qui sont parvenus à la perfection.

Bénis les personnes constituées en autorité au milieu de nous, et fais qu'elles travaillent avec zèle à l'avancement du règne de Jésus Christ, ton fils ; inspire à tous ceux qui sont établis pour gouverner les peuples des sentimens favorables pour la vérité, et pour ceux qui la professent.

Nous te prions pour les pasteurs que tu as établis sur ce troupeau. Conduis-les par ton Esprit, et bénis leur travail ; ensorte que par leurs soins et par leurs exemples, ils forment tous les jours à leur divin maître de nouveaux disciples, qui soient au dernier jour leur joie et leur couronne.

Aie pitié de tous les affligés, des pauvres et des malades. Nous t'invoquons particulièrement pour ceux qui sont de cette Eglise, et qui ont souhaité d'avoir part à nos prières.

Enfin, ô Dieu, nous te supplions d'agréer nos très-humbles actions de grâces, pour tous les biens temporels et spirituels que tu nous accordes. Continue à nous protéger et à nous bénir. Fais-nous la grâce de nous préparer à l'action sainte que nous devons faire dans peu de jours, par une sage retraite, par un examen attentif de notre cœur, par de pieuses méditations, et par de ferventes prières ; afin que recevant à la table sacrée de nouvelles assurances de ton amour, et nous avançant dans la piété, nous nous assurions la possession de la vie éternelle, que tu as promise à tes enfans. Exauce-nous, Père de miséricorde ; c'est au nom de ton fils bien-aimé que nous t'invoquons.

Notre Père, &c.

### LA LITURGIE DE LA SAINTE CENE.

*Après le Sermon et la lecture de la Prière, le Ministre parlant à toute l'Assemblée, dit :*

Ecoutez, mes frères, de quelle manière notre Seigneur Jésus Christ a institué la Sainte Cène : " J'ai appris du Seigneur," dit S. Paul, " ce que je vous ai enseigné ; que le Seigneur Jésus, la nuit qu'il fut livré, prit du pain, et après avoir rendu grâces, le rompit et dit : prenez, mangez ; ceci est mon corps, qui est rompu pour vous ; faites ceci en mémoire de moi. De même après avoir soupé, il prit la coupe, et dit : cette coupe est la nouvelle alliance en mon sang ; faites ceci, toutes les fois que vous en boirez, en mémoire de moi. Car toutes les fois que vous mangerez de ce pain, et que vous boirez de cette coupe, vous annoncerez la mort du Seigneur, jusqu'à ce qu'il vienne. C'est pourquoi quiconque mangera de ce pain, ou boira de la coupe du Seigneur indignement, sera coupable du corps et du sang du Seigneur. Que chacun donc s'éprouve soi-même, et qu'ainsi il mange de ce pain, et boive de cette coupe. Car quiconque en mange et en boit indignement, mange et boit sa condamnation, ne discernant point le corps du Seigneur."

Vous venez d'entendre, mes frères, comment notre Seigneur Jésus Christ a institué la Sainte Cène, et en même temps avec quel respect et quelle pureté elle doit être célébrée dans son Eglise, jusqu'à la fin des siècles. Il paroît de là, que ceux qui ne sont pas membres de l'Eglise, ou qui la deshonorent par leur conduite, ne doivent pas y être admis. C'est pourquoi, au nom et en l'autorité de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, et selon la règle qu'il nous a laissée dans sa parole, j'excommunie, c'est-à-dire, je déclare indignes de participer à ce saint sacrement, tous les impies, les incrédules, les pécheurs obstinés, tous ceux qui vivent dans le déréglement. Je leur déclare que, s'ils ne se repentent, et ne sont résolus à changer de conduite, ils ne sauroient avoir communion avec Jésus Christ; et qu'ainsi ils doivent s'éloigner de cette sainte table, de peur de la profaner.

Que chacun donc rentre en soi-même pour sonder son cœur, pour examiner sa conduite: pour voir s'il est en état de se présenter à la table sacrée, s'il aime Dieu sincèrement, s'il souhaite avec ardeur de lui plaire, s'il a une véritable repentance de ses fautes, si se confiant en la miséricorde de Dieu, et cherchant son salut en Jésus Christ, il est résolu en même temps de vivre d'une manière conforme à la loi de Dieu; en particulier, si renonçant à toute injustice et à toute animosité, il est disposé à réparer le tort qu'il peut avoir fait à son prochain, et à vivre en paix et en charité fraternelle avec tous les hommes.

Il est vrai que pendant que nous sommes sur la terre, notre foi et notre piété ne sont point telles qu'elles devroient être; et que nous avons tous les jours à combattre nos mauvais penchans: mais si nous reconnoissons nos foiblesses, si nous en gémissons devant Dieu, et si nous faisons tous nos efforts pour les surmonter, soyons persuadés qu'elles n'empêcheront pas que nous n'ayons part à la grâce de Dieu, qui nous est présentée à la table sacrée. Car nous y venons comme des pécheurs qui sentent leur misère, et qui cherchent dans la communion de notre Sauveur, et dans la méditation de sa mort, des secours très-efficaces, pour combattre le péché et le monde, et pour avancer dans le chemin de la sanctification et du salut.

Ne considérons donc pas la Sainte Cène comme une cérémonie vaine et sans effet; mais souvenons-nous qu'elle renferme tout ce qu'il y a de plus sacré et de plus consolant dans la religion. Jésus Christ nous y est représenté comme le véritable agneau pascal, qui a été immolé pour nous. Le pain est la communion de son corps, qui a été rompu pour nous. La coupe est la communion de son sang, du sang de la nouvelle alliance, qui a été répandu pour la rémission de nos péchés. De sorte que si nous participons à cet auguste sacrement avec de saintes dispositions, nous y recevrons les assurances de l'amour de Dieu, les sceaux de son alliance, et les gages de ses promesses. Sensibles, comme nous devons l'être, à des avantages si précieux, offrons à Dieu sur ce sujet, nos actions de grâces et nos prières.

### *Prière.*

Seigneur Dieu, qui es le Père de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, qui es la bonté et la charité même, nous te présentons le sacrifice de nos louanges et de nos actions de grâces, pour la faveur inestimable que tu nous as faite d'envoyer ton fils au monde, de l'exposer à la mort pour nous, et de nous inviter encore à présent à participer aux fruits de sa mort, dans le sacrement de la Sainte Cène. O Dieu, qui sommes-nous pour de si grands biens! Et comment pourrions-nous t'en témoigner notre juste reconnoissance! Les cieux et la terre, ô notre Dieu, sont pleins des marques de ta bonté. Mais tu l'as manifestée en ceci d'une façon toute particulière; lorsque nous n'étions que des pécheurs, Christ est mort pour nous. Reçois nos hommages, Seigneur, notre Dieu; et fais que, participant à ce saint sacrement, où tu nous invites par ta grâce, nous nous unissions en même temps à notre Sauveur, par les liens d'une foi vive et d'une véritable sainteté; que ce soit lui qui vive en nous, pour nous conduire à la vie bienheureuse qui n'aura point de fin. Qu'ainsi nous ayons véritablement part aux biens de l'alliance de grâce que tu as traitée avec nous par Jésus Christ, persuadés que, puisque tu daignes nous recevoir à ta table et dans ta famille, tu seras toujours un bon Père à notre égard, qui nous pardonneras nos fautes, qui nous fourniras, comme à tes chers enfans, toutes les choses qui nous sont nécessaires, soit pour le corps, soit pour l'ame, et qui nous introduiras un jour dans ton héritage céleste. Père de grâce, qui as livré ton fils à la mort pour nous sauver, et qui nous appelles à sa communion pour nous donner la vie éternelle, vivement touchés de ce don précieux, nous nous consacrons entièrement à toi; nous te présentons nos corps et nos esprits en sacrifice vivant et saint. Et puisque tu nous as tant aimés, nous reconnoissons que cela nous engage aussi à nous aimer les uns les autres. Imprime toi-même, ô Dieu, ces saintes dispositions dans nos ames, afin que, célébrant de cette manière la mémoire de ton cher fils, notre foi se fortifie de plus en plus, notre charité s'augmente, notre sanctification s'avance et se perfectionne: ce qui nous donnera tous les jours plus de confiance pour te regarder comme notre Père, et pour glorifier ton saint nom, par nos œuvres et par nos paroles. Exauce-nous, Père de miséricorde; nous t'invoquons au nom de ton fils bien-aimé Jésus Christ, auquel, comme à toi, Père Céleste, et au Saint-Esprit, soit honneur, louange et gloire, dès maintenant et à jamais. Amen.

*Le ministre continuant à parler au peuple, dit:*

Approchez-vous maintenant, mes frères, de la Table du Seigneur: mais venez-y avec tous les sentimens d'humilité, de repentance, de foi, de piété, de charité, que cette sainte action demande de vous. Venez-y aussi avec ordre et avec bienséance, vous souvenant que vous vous présentez devant Dieu, pour vous acquitter de l'un des devoirs les plus solemnels de la religion. Et sans nous arrêter à ces symboles extérieurs que nous voyons et que nous touchons, comme si Jésus Christ y étoit renfermé d'une manière grossière et charnelle, élevons nos cœurs en-haut, où Jésus Christ est à présent dans la gloire de Dieu, son père, et d'où nous l'attendons au dernier jour, qu'il viendra pour juger le monde, et pour nous mettre en possession du grand salut qu'il nous a acquis.

*Après cette exhortation, le ministre ajoute:*

Profitons, mes frères, de ces exhortations; et s'il y avoit quelqu'un dans cette assemblée à qui la Sainte Cène eût été défendue, soit ici, soit ailleurs, qu'il se garde bien d'en approcher, de peur d'y recevoir sa propre condamnation.

*Le ministre étant descendu de la chaire et arrivé à la table, rompt le pain, et dit, en le donnant au ministre qui distribue avec lui :*

Le pain que nous rompons est la Communion au Corps de Jésus Christ, notre Seigneur *(ou quelqu' autre parole semblable.)*

*Après quoi il communie aussi lui-même. L'autre ministre lui présente la coupe, en disant :*

La coupe de bénédiction que nous bénissons, est la Communion au Sang de Jésus Christ, notre Seigneur *(ou quelqu' autre parole semblable.)*

*Il présente ensuite la coupe à son collègue, et il y participe lui-même. La même chose se fait à la seconde table, où il y a pareillement deux ministres officians.*

*Les ministres ayant communié, les magistrats, et ensuite tous ceux qui composent l'assemblée, s'approchent tour-à-tour et avec ordre de la table. Les hommes et les femmes y vont séparément. L'un des ministres distribue le pain, et l'autre la coupe, en disant à chaque communiant quelques paroles propres à exciter la dévotion. Pendant ce temps-là, le lecteur lit des chapitres de l'écriture sainte convenables à la fête, et fait chanter des Pseaumes ou des cantiques composés pour cette solemnité.*

*Quand la cérémonie est finie, le ministre qui a prêché remonte en chaire, et dit :*

Mes frères, qui venez de célébrer la mémoire de la mort de Jésus Christ, nous vous supplions, en son nom, de faire en sorte que vous n'ayez pas reçu sa grâce en vain. Que le péché ne règne donc plus en vous. Mais conduisez-vous d'une manière digne de votre vocation, en sorte que rien au monde ne puisse vous priver de l'amour que Dieu vous a témoigné par Jésus Christ. Ayez, comme ses saints et ses bien-aimés, des entrailles de miséricorde ; revêtez-vous de bonté, d'humilité, de douceur, de patience. Supportez-vous les uns les autres ; et si l'un a sujet de se plaindre de l'autre, pardonnez-vous réciproquement, comme Jésus Christ vous a pardonné. Que la paix de Dieu, à laquelle vous êtes appelés pour n'être qu'un seul corps, règne dans vos cœurs. Rendons-lui tous ensemble de très-humbles actions de grâces.

*Prière d'actions de grâces.*

Père céleste, qui viens de nous donner, dans le sacrement de la Sainte Cène, les gages de notre réconciliation avec toi, par Jésus Christ, que te rendrons-nous pour un si grand bienfait! Nous annoncerons pendant toute notre vie les richesses de ta miséricorde, par laquelle tu nous as adoptés pour tes enfans, et appelés à ton héritage. O Dieu, ta charité nous presse et nous possède. Tu nous as rachetés à un grand prix. Nous voulons te glorifier désormais dans nos corps et dans nos esprits, qui t'appartiennent. Agrée, Seigneur, ces mouvemens de notre reconnoissance, et qu'il te plaise de nous aider, par ta grâce, à exécuter les promesses que nous te faisons aujourd'hui, de t'être fidèles jusqu'à la mort. Enseigne-nous à faire ta volonté. Que ton esprit nous transforme en de nouvelles créatures, en sorte que nous vivions désormais dans la foi que nous avons en ton cher fils, qui nous a aimés, et qui s'est livré pour nous. O Dieu de paix, sanctifie-nous parfaitement; et que tout ce qui est en nous, notre ame et notre corps, soit conservé irrépréhensible, pour le jour de l'avénement de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, auquel, comme à toi, Père céleste, et au Saint-Esprit, soient honneur et gloire, aux siècles des siècles. Amen.

*Toute l'assemblée demeurant debout, on chante le Cantique de Siméon, après quoi le ministre la congédie en donnant la bénédiction.*

## LA LITURGIE DU MARIAGE.

*L'époux et l'epouse étant debout devant la chaire, le ministre leur dit:*

Notre aide soit au nom de Dieu, qui a fait le ciel et la terre. Amen.

Vous vous présentez devant Dieu pour implorer sa bénédiction sur votre mariage, et pour vous engager solemnellement à en remplir les obligations.

*Puis le ministre s'adresse à l'assemblée:*

Dieu, qui est le père du genre humain, ayant créé les cieux et la terre, et préparé le domicile de l'homme, forma l'homme à son image, et lui donna une aide semblable à lui.

Telle fut l'institution du mariage, par laquelle Dieu pourvut à la conservation du genre humain et à la pureté des mœurs. Ce moyen de perpétuer les générations humaines étoit également assorti à la nature de l'homme, et à l'état de société, auquel il étoit destiné. Dieu fit en même temps connoître par là qu'il vouloit que chaque homme fût mari d'une seule femme, et qu'il y eût entr'eux la plus étroite union. C'est cette institution du mariage que Jésus Christ rappelle dans sa réponse à cette question des Pharisiens: est-il permis à un homme de répudier sa femme pour quelque sujet que ce soit? Et il en tira cette conséquence: que l'homme ne sépare donc pas ce que Dieu a joint. Matth. xix. L'Evangile, en nous rappelant ainsi à l'institution divine du mariage, en fortifie toutes les obligations. Le Mari doit aimer sa femme comme un autre lui-même, en avoir soin, avoir beaucoup d'égards pour elle. La femme, de son côté, doit aimer son Mari, lui être soumise dans toutes les choses bonnes et honnêtes; ils doivent vivre ensemble dans la paix, user d'un support réciproque, et se garder une fidélité inviolable l'un à l'autre.

*Le ministre s'arrête un moment, et continue en s'adressant aux époux séparément.*

Vous, N, vous déclarez donc ici, devant Dieu et devant cette assemblée, que vous avez pris, et que vous prenez pour votre femme N, ici présente. Vous promettez de l'aimer, de l'entretenir, et de lui garder la foi, comme c'est le devoir d'un Mari Chrétien envers sa femme, et comme Dieu vous le commande dans sa parole.

*Réponse:* Oui.

Vous, N, vous déclarez ici, devant Dieu et devant cette assemblée, que vous avez prise, et que vous prenez N, ici présent, pour votre Mari légitime. Vous promettez de l'aimer, de lui être soumise dans toutes les choses bonnes et honnêtes, et de lui garder la foi, comme c'est le devoir d'une épouse Chrétienne envers son Mari, et comme Dieu vous le commande dans sa parole.

*Réponse:* Oui.

Souvenez-vous, l'un et l'autre, des promesses que vous venez de faire. Et, puisque Dieu vous a unis par le lien sacré du mariage, vivez ensemble dans la paix, dans l'union, dans l'honnêteté; revêtez-vous de douceur, de support, de complaisance: les dévotions domestiques étant infiniment propres à resserrer tous les liens d'affection, à adoucir toutes les peines, à ménager des consolations pour les jour d'épreuves, prenez-en la sainte habitude, et pratiquez-les sans interruption. Que l'Eglise soit édifiée par votre conduite, et que votre exemple apprenne qu'il n'y a d'union vraiment douce et heureuse, que celles qui ont pour base la piété et la vertu.

Prions Dieu tous ensemble qu'il répande sa bénédiction sur ces personnes et sur leur mariage.

Seigneur Dieu, qui, dans ton infinie sagesse, as toi-même institué le mariage, et qui as pourvu par ce moyen au plus grand bien de la société et de tous ceux qui la composent, puisqu'il t'a plu d'appeler ces époux à cet état sacré, ratifie les promesses qu'ils viennent de faire en ta présence, et fais-leur la grâce de bien remplir les devoirs auxquels ils se sont volontairement engagés ; qu'ils vivent saintement dans la paix et dans ta crainte ; qu'ils édifient l'Eglise par leur union et par la régularité de leur vie. Donne-leur ta bénédiction, comme à tes fidèles serviteurs. Et s'ils ont des enfans, fais qu'ils s'appliquent avec soin à les instruire dans la pure religion que ton fils est venu nous enseigner de ta part, et à les former à la vertu, afin que, remplissant ainsi leurs devoirs, et entrant dans les vues de ta sagesse, ils contribuent à ta gloire, et travaillent de concert à l'œuvre de leur salut. Exauce-nous, Père de grâce, pour l'amour de ton cher fils Jésus Christ, notre Seigneur. Amen.

*Le ministre s'adressant encore aux deux personnes mariées, ajoute :*

Que Dieu, notre père céleste, vous comble de ses bénédictions, et vous fasse la grâce de vivre ensemble long-temps, heureusement et saintement, dans sa crainte et dans son amour. Ainsi soit-il.

Allez en paix, souvenez-vous des pauvres, et que le Dieu de paix soit avec vous.

## N°. VII.

### *Translation of the Letter of Scipio Lentulus, a Neapolitan, giving an Account of the Persecution in the Protestant Valleys of Piemont, under the Count de la Trinité, in the Year* 1561. *From Morland's History, p.* 230.

[The original is in volume P, of the Cambridge Manuscripts.]

" Most honoured Sir,

" SEEING you have given me to understand, that it is your desire to know what things have fallen out among us in Piemont, to the end that I might the more conveniently answer your expectation in this particular, I have determined to give an account of those things by letter, rather than by word of mouth: forasmuch as it will be of some use also to serve the purpose of those men who desire to have the same things committed to writing, and are able to set them forth much more exactly.

" There is a certain valley in the country of Piemont, within five or six miles of Mount Vesulo, which from the town Lucerna, is called the valley of Lucerna; and in it there is a little valley, which from Angrogna, a small river running through it, is called the valley of Angrogna. Next adjoining to this there are two other valleys, that is to say, the valley of Perosa, so called from the town of that name, and the valley of S. Martino. In these there lie divers little towns and villages, whose inhabitants, assisted by the ministers of God's word, do make open profession of the Gospel.

" Moreover, I suppose that there are near eight thousand faithful souls (as I may call them) inhabiting in this place. But among the men, who are bred up to endure labour, seeing they have from their childhood been inured to husbandry, you will find very few that know how to engage in combat with any. From hence it comes to pass, that very few of them are ready, upon any urgent occasion, to defend themselves against public injuries. Yea and the valleys themselves lie so remote from each other, that they cannot help one another till it be too late. And although these towns and villages have their counts or lords (as they call them) yet the Duke of Savoy is lord over them all.

" This duke, before he came from Nice into Piemont, diligently took order with those counts and lords of places, that they should admonish the inhabitants of the valleys to submit to him and the Pope; that is, that casting off their ministers, they should admit Popish preachers, and the abominable mass. Whereupon our people sent a certain messenger to Nice, together with their confession of faith, and petitions unto the prince, beseeching him that he would take it in good part, if they were resolved rather to die than lose the true religion of Jesus Christ, forasmuch as they had received it, through a very ancient tract of time, as it were by hand, from their ancestors; and that he would not doubt but they shall be ready to amend their errors, if any there were, in case it should be manifested to them out of the word of God, to which alone they are to submit in this business; and as to what concerneth them in matters of behaviour, and tributes, and other things due both to him and to their other lords, that he would send persons to make diligent enquiry whether they have at any time committed any offence, that so due punishment may be inflicted on them, because he should assuredly know they will endeavour, that he may understand they are willing to approve themselves, with due reverence, most obedient to him in all these things.

" These petitions came to the hand of the prince, but availed nothing with him, who was become a sworn enemy with Antichrist against Christ. Thereupon, he sent forth edicts, declaring that those who should be present at the sermons of the ministers of the valleys, if but once, should be fined at one hundred crowns, and if a second time, then they should be condemned to the galleys for ever. Orders also were given to a certain judge, to ride circuit up and down to put the penalties in execution, and to bind Christians and imprison them. The lords also, and magistrates of places, had the same power given them, and at length the godly were, by this most impotent prince, utterly given up to be plundered by all sorts of villains, and afflicted with most grievous calamities.

" He sent also a certain collateral judge of his own, first to Carignan, there to act inhuman butchery upon the faithful ones of Christ; whereupon he caused one Marcellinus, and Joan his wife, he being a Frenchman, but she a woman of Carignan, to be burnt alive with fire four days after they had been apprehended. But in this woman God was pleased to manifest an admirable example of constancy: for, as she was led to execution, she exhorted her husband, saying, Well done, my brother, be of good courage; this day, doubtless, we shall enter together into the joys of heaven. Some few days after this, there was apprehended also one John Carthignan, an honest plain man, and truly religious, who, after three days of imprisonment, endured the torments of fire with very great constancy. Who is able to reckon up the several incursions, slaughters, plunders, and innumerable miseries wherewith this most savage generation of men did daily afflict all pious men, because being exhorted by their ministers to patience, they took no course to defend themselves against injuries? Not long after also they apprehended one John, a Frenchman and a minister, at a town called St. Germano, and carrying him to a certain abbey near Pinerolo, there burnt him alive, who left behind him a noble example of Christian constancy. The like was done also to the minister of the town of Maine, who was put to death at Susa, by a slow fire, while he, in the mean time, stood as it were immoveable, and not being touched with any sense of so incredible a cruelty, having his eyes fixed upon heaven, breathed out his happy soul.

" Therefore, when things were come to this pass, and these miseries were encreased every day more and more, and seeing that the patience and extreme misery of our people, could not in any measure allay the fury and rage of these most merciless brutes, they at length resolved by force, as well as they could, to free themselves, and their wives and children, from that barbarous usage. And although some of our ministers declared it was not well done, yet no admonitions could keep the people from resolving to defend themselves by arms. Hereupon it came to pass, that several encounters falling out, within a few days, there fell about sixty of the plunderers. When news hereof was brought to the tyrant, he commanded his men to forbear, and sent two of his noblemen, principal persons, to wit, the Lord Raconysi, and the Lord de la Trinité (whom I shall, for discourse sake, more aptly call the Lord de la Tyrannitie) that so they might bring matters to an accommodation with our people: but when it was perceived, that all their drift was, that our ministers might be cast out, and the pope received, the people would by no means yield to it; and so they departed *re infectâ*.

" Wherefore, when the prince came into Piemont, and resided at Versello, about the kalends of November, in the year 1560; with intent to destroy all in the valleys by fire and sword, he sent an army of above 4000 foot and 200 horse, under the command of the Duke de la Tyrannitie. And the next day, in the morning, they fell into Angrogna, which lay first in their way. But there being in a steep place of a mountain some men of ours, which kept guard there, (who were not above fifty in number) they with slings, wherewith most of them were armed, sustained the first assault made by 1200 men: but afterwards, others coming in several ways to the assistance of ours (though the whole number hardly amounted to 200) they not only put the enemy to flight, but slew seventy of them, with the loss of no more than three of our own: and the next day, when they attempted to come up to us out of another part of the valley, hard by Villaro and Taillaretto, a small number of ours put a very great body of the enemy to flight, and slew of them about thirty. For these causes then, that most crafty fox, the Lord de la Tyrannitie, understandeth that to be a very difficult business, which he conceived otherwise most easy, forasmuch as our men, who, he supposed, would have been frightened with the bare name of an army, fought stoutly and most valiantly, although they were but ill armed, a small number, and without experience of military affairs; wherefore he thought it requisite to have recourse (as his manner is) unto deceitful practices. To this end, he employed persons to give hopes of peace, if they would lay down their arms; whereupon certain false brethren, in design to serve their own private ends (as experience hath made manifest) persuaded the people, though almost all the ministers cried out against it, that, too easily giving credit to the most false promises of their enemies, laying down their arms, and sending deputies to the prince to promise obedience, and beg pardon in the name of all the people, they might for 16,000 crowns redeem both themselves and their religion. As soon as all these things were yielded to, and promised by the too credulous people (with whom some men consented that ought not to have done it) through a vain hope of obtaining peace and religion; and when our deputies arrived at Versello, they were from thence carried, by the Lord de la Tyrannitie, to a certain cloister, there to abide for two months space (to the end there might be time for collecting the monies), and at length casting themselves down at the feet of the prince, and of the pope's legate (who were both there, attended by a great number of the nobility and men of inferior rank) they were constrained to supplicate the prince first, then the pope's legate, that they would take pity on the people from whom they were sent, and to promise them by an oath, that they would be ready to do all things that should be commanded by them.

"The prince, therefore, growing confident upon this most solemn promise, immediately sent persons to command our people to receive and embrace that horrid idol of the mass: whereupon considering the inconstancy of their deputies, and the deceit, or rather extreme perfidiousness of the tyrants being discovered, they plainly refused to yield that those things should be ratified which their deputies had unadvisedly transacted, through their own levity, not with the consent of the people; for, they had been sent upon such terms, that they should do all those things in the name of the whole people, which might conduce to peace, with the safety of religion. Then the tyrant, as soon as he came to understand this, was much more inflamed than ever before with anger, or rather outrageous fury against our people; and collecting a rabble of an army, he gave command to the Lord de la Tyrannitie to waste and destroy all by fire and sword, without any regard either of sex or age. Hereupon houses were every where set on fire, goods plundered, nor is there any kind of mischief which was not acted by those most wretched villains: by which means they forced our people, with their wives and children, to have recourse to the more craggy places of the mountains: a thing indeed very lamentable to be seen! For, at the very first assault, they were in a manner astonished, because being spoiled both of their arms and goods, living in extreme want of all things, they did not see by what means they might be able to undergo so great and troublesome a war.

"But at length taking heart, and trusting in the mercy and help of God, and the goodness of their cause, and being confident because of the impiety and treachery of their adversaries, they resolved once again to defend themselves. To this end they appointed their guards and garrisons, fortified several places, blocked up passages, and were wholly resolute upon this point, to die, rather than they would in any measure obey a perfidious and wicked prince in so abominable a matter. But what need many words? Things were come to such a pass, that in several fights, above 900 of the enemy were slain; whereas, on our side, hardly fifteen were wanting.

"But I must not omit also to inform you, that at that time there fell eight of those leaders, whom the prince held in highest esteem, because of their extraordinary valour and skill in military affairs, whereof he had had experience, chiefly in his war against the king of France. Of that number was Charles Trusset, lord of a certain town called Runclaret, a man of great strength, most daring, and not only exercised in arms from his very childhood, but one generally reputed most stout in action. This man, leading two regiments, consisting of about 600 men, on that side where we little imagined any enemy would come, advanced with his men to the top of a mountain, where he overlooked our party: which, as soon as ours beheld, then pouring out prayers before the Lord (for they always have a minister with them) although they were scarce thirty in number, they courageously proceeded against the enemy; who, being very jocund, as if they had already gained the victory, came down. They were no sooner engaged, but six slingers of ours, by a passage unknown to the enemy, immediately possessed themselves of the top of the mountain, which the other, fearing nothing, had quitted; and crying out aloud from thence, Let Jesus Christ be glorified, they issued down upon them with so great a force, that the enemy utterly failed both in strength and courage, while ours, in the mean time, became the more active and courageous. And as soon as the enemies perceived about eighty men advancing from the next town, for the succour of our friends, they all presently betook themselves to their heels: whereupon the snow, being then above a cubit deep, and those that fled finding the passages very straight and cumbersome, part of them threw themselves headlong from broken rocks, and part were slaughtered at pleasure by the pursuers. As for Trusset, he being led betwixt two soldiers (because his leg had been broken by a blow with a stone) was with his own sword most miserably slain by a certain plough-boy, after he had levelled another stone at his back from a sling with such a force, that being left by the soldiers, he fell down upon the ground half dead: and in that fight there fell about 200 of the enemy, without any loss of our own. Many more such passages might be related of several encounters, wherein a few of our friends have always worsted a great number of the enemies; of the truth whereof this is a very ample evidence, that so great store of arms came to the hands of ours, that they were not at all troubled for the loss of their own formerly, through treachery, seeing a return made of them in so great abundance.

" These are the occurrences which at this time I could communicate to you concerning this business; and if so be that you think them too few, I promise you I will very diligently take care that within these few days you may receive a more large account: for, I am every day in expectation of a person who was not only present, but a principal man also in these actions. In the mean time, you will (I hope) entertain these which I have by snatches rudely written, to the end that I might (how meanly soever) testify my singular love and respect towards you, who are so worthy a person. Farewell.

(Signed) " Tui studiosissimus,
" Scipio Lentulus, Neapolitanus.
Or,
" Your's most affectionately devoted,
" Scipio Lentulus, Native of Naples."

# N°. VIII.

## *Correspondence between Oliver Cromwell, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, and the Kings of Sweden, Denmark, France, the Duke of Savoy, the States-General of the United Provinces, and the Swiss Cantons, in behalf of the persecuted Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont.*

The Latin Letters of Cromwell are supposed to have been the composition of John Milton, the poet.

The Author is indebted to Morland's work for the original Latin, to which he has ventured to give a new translation.

### 1. LETTER TO THE KING OF SWEDEN.

Serenissime Rex,

PERVENISSE nuper in regna vestra illius edicti acerbissimi famam, quo Dux Sabaudiæ subjectos sibi Alpinos incolas, reformatam religionem profitentes, funditùs afflixit, et nisi religione Romana suam mutare fidem intra dies viginti velint, patriis sedibus exterminari jussit, unde multis interfectis, cæteri spoliati, et ad interitum certissimum expositi, per incultissimos montes, hiememque perpetuam, fame et frigore confecti cum conjugibus ac parvulis jam nunc oberrant, et hæc graviter tulisse majestatem vestram nobis persuasissimum est. Nam Protestantium nomen atque causam, tametsi inter se de rebus non maximis dissentiunt, communem tamen et penè unam esse, adversariorum par in omnes odium facilé demonstrat. Et Suedorum reges, majores vestros, suam cum reformatis conjunxisse semper causam, illatis etiam in Germaniam armis ad Protestantium religionem sine discrimine tuendam, nemo est qui ignoret. Necessarium itaque duximus, de miseriis atque

# N°. VIII.

## Translation.

Most serene King,

We are fully assured that your majesty is deeply concerned at the report, which must have reached your dominions, of that most cruel edict of the Duke of Savoy, by which he has thrown his subjects, who inhabit the Alps, and profess the Reformed Religion, into the greatest despair; and has commanded their utter extermination, unless they shall renounce their own faith, and embrace the Roman Catholic, within twenty days. In consequence of this edict, many have already been massacred; and others, after having been plundered, and exposed to certain destruction, are now wandering about inhospitable mountains, which are covered with perpetual snow, and are perishing of cold and hunger, with their wives and little ones. That the Protestant ought to be one common name and cause, whatever minor differences may prevail, is evident from the hatred which our adversaries indulge against us all: and the hearty zeal which your ancestors, the Kings of Sweden,

cladibus istorum hominum afflictissimorum, quid at notitiam nostram pervenerit majestatem vestram non celare, et quanto eorum causa mœrore afficiamur, certiorem facere, sicut et alios ejusdem religionis amicos atque socios nostros certiores fecimus; nostrasque literas, quanta potuimus cum instantia, ad Sabaudiæ Ducem horum causa miserorum jam scripsimus. Nec dubitamus quin majestas vestra pro suo tam inhumanæ ac barbaræ crudelitatis odio, proque suo in religionem studio spectatissimo, suam jam interposuerit auctoritatem, aut interpositura quamprimum sit, et cum Sabaudiæ Duce agat, uti edictum illud crudelissimum revocet, et istorum reliquias miserrimorum hominum, quos ferrum atque flamma nondum consumpsit, ad sedes suas, et siquid fortunarum reliquum est, redire jubeat. Et sanè siquod vinculum, siqua religionis caritas aut communio credenda atque colenda est, tanta innocentissimorum fratrum nostrorum multitudo, pars corporis Christi, hæc tam immania perpeti non potest, quin idem patiatur totum ejus corpus, parique sensu afficiatur: hæc verò tam sæva initia unde oriantur, quo spectent, quid nobis omnibus minentur, admonere vestram majestatem supervacuum esse arbitramur; cujus prudentia ac pietas se sua sponte ad ea consilia ducet, quæ accommodata maximè erunt ad hos inopes et calamitosos consolandos quamprimùm et sublevandos. Quandoquidem hæc scripsimus non admonendæ majestatis vestræ gratia, verùm ut nos quæ illi mala perpetiuntur, quàm graviter feramus, intelligatis; quàmque simus parati ea vobiscum consilia communicare, quæ ad illorum opem atque solatium, remque Protestantium toto orbe terrarum sustinendam, atque firmandam maximè pertinuerint. Interea majestatem vestram Deo Opt. Max. commendatam ex animo volumus. Dat. ex aula nostra Westmonasterii, 25 Maii, 1655.

Majestatis vestræ bonus amicus,
Oliver P.

have ever displayed in honour of this cause, was manifested to the world, when they carried their arms even into Germany for its defence. We have therefore thought it necessary to make a representation to your majesty, as well as to the rest of our friends and allies of the same religion, both of the miserable condition of these unhappy people, and the havoc committed among them, and of the grief we have suffered on their account. Our own remonstrances with the Duke of Savoy upon this painful subject, have been strongly urged; and we have no doubt but that your majesty also, not only from your detestation of such inhuman and atrocious cruelty, but from your well known attachment to religion, will make use of your powerful authority and mediation, to induce the Duke of Savoy to rescind that barbarous edict, and to restore, what remains of their habitations and property, to the remnant of those wretched people, if fire and sword have not yet consumed them all. And certainly, if we are to believe that there is any bond, any charity, or communion of religion, worthy of being observed, so many of our innocent brethren, members of Christ's body, cannot suffer these enormities, without causing the whole body to be equally affected, and to suffer with them. It will be needless to remind your majesty what all this animosity arises from, what is its object, or with what it threatens us all; and we are confident your own wisdom and piety will suggest the best means of consoling and relieving the miserable sufferers. We have written this not to advise your majesty, but to inform you of our own sentiments upon the occasion, and to express our readiness to co-operate with you, in whatever may tend to encourage, to uphold and strengthen the Protestant cause throughout the world. In the mean time we heartily pray that God Almighty will preserve your majesty.

Given from our court at Westminster, this 25th day of May, 1655.

Your majesty's good friend,
OLIVER, PROTECTOR.

## 2. CROMWELL'S LETTER TO THE KING OF DENMARK.

Serenissime Rex,

Quàm severo nuper et inclementi edicto Allobrogum Dux Immanuel suos ipse subditos, Alpinarum vallium incolas, innoxios homines, et religionis cultu purioris jam multis ab seculis notos ac celebres, religionis causa finibus patriis exegerit, et occisis permultis, reliquos per illa desertissima loca malis omnibus et miseriis inopes ac nudos exposuerit, et audisse jamdudum arbitramur majestatem vestram, et gravissimum ex ea re, prout tantum reformatæ fidei defensorem ac principem decuit, dolorem percepisse. Siquidem pro institutis Christianæ religionis quæ mala atque miserias pars aliqua nostrorum patitur, earum sensu penitus eodem tangi omnes debemus; et sanè, universo Protestantium nomini hujus facti eventus atque exemplum, quid periculi ostendat, nemo vestra majestate, si nos ejus pietatem atque prudentiam rectè novimus, melius videt. Scripsimus itaque libenter, ut quem dolorem ob hanc fratrum innocentissimorum calamitatem, quam sententiam, quod judicium de re tota vestrum esse speramus, idem planè et nostrum esse significemus. Itaque ad Ducem Sabaudiæ literas dedimus, in quibus, uti miseris atque supplicibus parcat, illud atrox edictum porrò esse ratum ne sinat, magnopere ab eo petivimus. Quod si majestas vestra cæterique reformatorum principes fecerint, ut jam fecisse credimus, spes est leniri posse serenissimi ducis animum, et hanc iram suam tot saltem vicinorum principum intercessioni atque instantiæ condonaturum: sin perseverare in instituto suo maluerit, paratos nos esse testamur cum majestate vestra, cæterisque Religionis Reformatæ sociis, eam inire rationem qua tot miserorum hominum subvenire quamprimum inopiæ, providere saluti ac libertati pro virili parte nostra possimus. Vestræ interea majestati bona omnia atque fausta à Deo. opt. max. precamur. Westmonasterii ex aula nostra Maii die —— anno Dom. 1655.

Majestatis vestræ bonus amicus,

OLIVER, P.

## Translation.

Most serene King,

We conclude that your majesty has heard of the late severe and merciless edict of the Duke of Savoy, by which he has not only (for no other reason than their faith) expelled from their native settlements, those of his subjects who inhabit the Alpine valleys, and who for so many ages have been celebrated for their innocent manners, and pure religion, but has also put great numbers of them to death, and has driven the survivors to wander in deserts, destitute, afflicted, and tormented. We cannot but believe that you entertain that grief, which so great a prince, and defender of the reformed faith, must feel upon such an occasion; since it is one of the precepts of the Christian religion, that if any of us are suffering evil or calamity, the rest ought to be touched with a sense of it: and if we be rightly informed of your piety and wisdom, nobody is better able to judge than your majesty, what dangerous consequences are likely to ensue to the whole Protestant cause, from the example of this proceeding. We have therefore written thus explicitly, to signify that our feelings and opinion upon the subject of the terrible calamity, which has befallen our most innocent brethren, are the same as we hope are yours, and that we have addressed a letter to the Duke of Savoy, earnestly imploring him to spare those wretched and suppliant subjects of his, and to stop the further enactment of that barbarous edict. If your majesty, and the other Protestant princes, will be pleased to do the same, (and indeed we are persuaded that you have already taken some such measures,) it is to be hoped that the heart of his most serene highness may be softened, or at all events, that he will yield to the pressing mediation of so many neighbouring powers. But if he shall persevere in his designs, we proclaim, that we are prepared, in conjunction with your majesty and our other allies of the Reformed Religion, to use every means in our power to relieve the wants of the unhappy sufferers, and to secure their safety and liberty. We pray the most high God to bless and prosper your majesty.

From our court at Westminster, the —— day of May, 1655.

Your majesty's good friend,
OLIVER, PROTECTOR.

### 3. LETTER TO THE SWISS CANTONS, PROFESSING THE REFORMED RELIGION.

Illustrissimi Domini,

Non dubitamus quin ad aures vestras aliquanto citius quàm ad nostras, illa nuper calamitas pervenerit Alpinorum hominum religionem nostram profitentium, qui Sabaudiæ Ducis in fide ac ditione cum sint, sui principis edicto patriis sedibus emigrare jussi, ni intra triduum satisdedissent se Romanam religionem suscepturos, mox armis petiti et ab exercitu ducis sui, occisis etiam permultis, in exilium ejecti, nunc sine lare, sine tecto, nudi, spoliati, afflicti, fame et frigore moribundi, per montes desertos atque nives, cum conjugibus et liberis miserrimè vagantur. Multo est minus cur dubitemus quin hæc, ut primùm vobis nunciati sunt, pari atque nos tantarum miseriarum sensu, eòque fortasse graviore, quò illorum finibus propriores estis, dolore affecerint, vestrum enim inprimis orthodoxæ fidei studium egregium, summàmque in ea, cùm retinenda constantiam, tum defendenda fortitudinem, abundè novimus. Cùm itaque religionis arctissima communione fratres, vel potiùs unum corpus, cum his miseris, vos pariter nobiscum sitis, cujus membrum nullum affligi sine sensu, sine dolore, sine detrimento atque periculo reliquorum potest, scribendum ad vos hac de re et significandum censuimus, quanti nostrum omnium interesse arbitremur, ut fratres nostros ejectos atque inopes communi ope atque auxilio, eàque ratione quæ commodissima et maximè idonea reperietur, juvemus et consolemur; nec eorum tantummodo malis et miseriis removendis, verùm etiam nequid serpat latiùs, nequid periculi exemplo atq; eventu, vel nobis omnibus creari possit, maturè prospiciamus. Literas nos quidem ad Sabaudiæ Ducem scripsimus, quibus, uti cum subditis suis fidelissimis pro clementia sua leniùs agat, eosque jam propè perditos suis sedibus ac bonis restituat, vehementer petivimus. Et his quidem nostris, vel nostrum potius omnium conjunctis precibus exoratum iri principem serenissimum, quodque ob eo tanto opere petivimus, facilè concessurum speramus, sin illi in mentem secùs venerit communicare vobiscum consilia parati sumus, qua potissimùm

## Translation.

Most illustrious Lords,

We have no doubt that the calamities of those inhabitants of the Alps, who are subjects of the Duke of Savoy, and profess the same religion as ourselves, have reached your ears quicker than they did ours. By an edict of their sovereign, they were commanded to banish themselves from their native country, unless they should embrace the Roman Catholic religion within three days *(the letter to the King of Sweden said twenty)*, and shortly afterwards being attacked by an armed force sent by the duke, many of them were killed, and the rest driven into exile, where they now wander miserably, with their wives and children, among deserts, mountains, and eternal snows, homeless, houseless, naked, destitute, afflicted, and ready to perish of cold and hunger. It cannot be, but that you were as sensibly affected by the intelligence of those enormities, as soon as you heard of them, as ourselves, and even more so, in consideration of your proximity; besides which, we are well assured of your especial zeal for the orthodox faith, of your perseverance in abiding by it, and of your resolution to defend it. Seeing therefore that you, as well as ourselves, are of the same brotherhood, united together with these unhappy people, by the closest bonds of religion, or rather that you are of one body with them, and that no member of the same body can suffer, without the feeling, and the pain, and detriment and danger of the rest, we have determined to write and to signify to you, how much we consider it to be our common interest to assist and comfort our ejected and necessitous brethren, by every aid and succour that can be administered consistently with our means and relations. In fact, we are not only bound to relieve these misfortunes, but to prevent the further growth of the evil, and to take timely precautions, lest the mischief of this example and proceeding shall bring danger upon us all. For this purpose we have addressed a letter to the Duke of Savoy, earnestly entreating him, that he will extend his clemency to the most faithful of his subjects, and restore the remnant of a race, who are all but destroyed, to their homes and property. We trust that his serene highness will be moved by our appeal, or rather by the joint intercession of us all, and that he will grant what we have

ratione oppressos tot injuriis atque vexatos innocuos homines, nobisque dilectos in Christo fratres sublevare atque erigere, et ab interitu certissimo atque indignissimo conservare possimus. Quorum salutem atq; incolumitatem pro vestra pietate vobis quam maximè cordi esse confido. Dat. ex aula nostra Westmonasterii 25. die Maii, Anno 1655.

Illustrissimarum dominationum vestrarum bonus amicus,

OLIVER, P.

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### 4. LETTER TO THE STATES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

Celsi ac præpotentes Domini,

Edictum Ducis Subaudiæ nuperrimum in subjectos sibi Lusernæ, Angrognæ, aliarumque ejus ditionis vallium, et locorum incolas, &c. orthodoxam religionem antiquitùs profitentes, quo illi edicto, ni intra dies 20. fidem Romanam amplectantur, exuti fortunis omnibus patrias quoq; sedes relinquere jubentur, et quanta crudelitate in homines innoxios atq; inopes, nostrosq; (quod maximè refert) in Christo fratres, illius edicti auctoritas grassata sit, occisis permultis ab exercitû contra eos misso, direptis reliquis atque domo expulsis, unde illi cum conjugibus ac liberis fame et frigore conflictari inter asperrimos montes, nivésque perpetuas, jamdiù coacti sunt, rumore et vicinis undiq; ex locis creberrimis literis ac nuntiis cognovisse vos jamdudum existimamus. Qua autem animi commotione, quo sensu fraternæ calamitatis hæc vos affecerint, facilè ex dolore nostro, qui certè est gravissimus, intelligere videmur. Qui enim eodem religionis vinculo conjuncti sumus, quidni iisdem planè affectibus in tam gravi atque indigna fratrum nostrorum calamitate commoveremur. Et vestra quidem in orthodoxos ubicunque locorum disjectos atque oppressos spectata pietas, atque in multis ecclesiarum difficultatibus et adversis rebus jam sæpe cognita est, nos certè quavis in re potiùs, quam studio

so ardently prayed for: but if he shall be otherwise inclined, we announce that we are ready to have recourse to such measures with you, as shall be best calculated to relieve, and raise the spirits of these cruelly oppressed and innocent people, our dear brethren in Christ, and to save them from certain and unmerited destruction. We confidently commend their deliverance and safety to your piety, knowing how near this affair must lie to your hearts.

Given from our court at Westminster, the 25th of May, 1655.

Your illustrious lordship's good friend,
OLIVER, PROTECTOR.

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Translation.

High and mighty Lords,

We suppose that you are already acquainted, by various information, received from different quarters, with the edict lately published by the Duke of Savoy against his subjects, the inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, and other places in his dominions, professors of the ancient orthodox religion. By this edict, they are deprived of all their property, and commanded to banish themselves from their paternal habitations, unless they shall embrace the Roman Catholic faith within twenty days: and it has already been enforced with such rigorous cruelty, that many innocent and helpless persons, (and what is more) our brethren in Christ, have been slain by the troops that were sent against them; and others, plundered of their goods, and driven from their homes, have been compelled, with their wives and children, to encounter all the miseries of cold and hunger, amidst desolate rocks, and snows that never melt. We judge from our own indignant grief, how greatly you must be affected by a sense of these calamities. United by the same bonds of religion, our bowels of compassion must be moved in the same degree, by the heavy and unmerted ills which have been inflicted upon our brethren. Your piety indeed towards the orthodox and oppressed victims of persecution, of every country and church, under whatever difficulties and adversity, is well known; and

et caritate erga fratres, religionis causa violatos atque afflictos, vinci sustineamus; quandoquidem ecclesiarum salutem atque pacem incolumitati etiam propriæ libens prætulerimus. Quapropter ad Sabaudiæ ducem scripsimus, magnopere rogantes ut in hos homines innocentissimos et subditos et supplices suos, placatiorem animum ac voluntatem suscipiat, suas sedes atque fortunas miseris reddat, pristinam etiam in religione libertatem concedat, nec non ad serenissimum Gallorum regem, uti pro iis ducem Sabaudiæ deprecari velit, scripsimus. Præterea, quemadmodum ad vos ipsos, ita ad alios quoque protestantium principes, et magistratus, ad quos hæc maximè pertinere judicavimus, ut in Sabaudiæ duce exorando suam conferre operam nobiscum una velint: nam exemplum hoc tam periculosum, si auctoribus benè cedat, quantum in discrimen adducta religio sit, vestram commonefacere prudentiam nihil attinet. Et is quidem si flecti nostris omnium precibus, et exorari se passus erit, præclarum nos atque uberem suscepti hujus laboris fructum ac præmium reportabimus. Sin ea in sententia perstiterit, ut apud quos nostra religio, vel ab ipsis evangelii primis doctoribus tradita, per manus et incorruptè servata, vel multò ante, quam apud cæteras gentes sinceritati pristinæ restituta est, eos ad summam desperationem redactos, deletos funditùs ac perditos velit, paratos nos esse testamur commune aliquod vobiscum cæterisque reformatis fratribus ac sociis consilium capere, qua maximè ratione saluti atque solatio tot hominum afflictorum consulere commodissimè queamus. Dat. ex aula nostra Westmonasterii 25. die Maii, anno 1655.

Celsarum ac præpotentium Dominationum vestrarum
bonus amicus,
Oliver, P.

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## 5. LETTER TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Serenissime Rex,

Perlati ad nos gemitus miserrimorum hominum Lucernam, Angrognam, nec non alias in ditione Ducis Sabaudiæ valles incolentium,

we too would rather be outdone in any thing, than in our zeal and affection for brethren, who have been injured and afflicted in the cause of religion; since we prefer the safety and peace of the churches even before our own. Wherefore we have written to the Duke of Savoy, earnestly entreating him to shew more clemency and favour to these innocent people, his suppliant subjects; to restore to them their habitations and property, and to concede those religious privileges, which they formerly enjoyed. We have also written to the most serene King of France, to request him to deprecate the duke's anger; and we have addressed you, and the other Protestant states and sovereigns, who are so intimately concerned in these proceedings, that their intercessions may be added to ours; for if this pernicious example should spread, there is no occasion to suggest to your wisdom, what dangerous consequences must result to religion. If the duke shall allow himself to be entreated, and to be moved by our prayers, we shall reap a rich and ample reward, as the fruit of our labour; but if he shall persist in his determination, of driving to despair, and extirpating these people, (among whom our religion was either planted by the first preachers of the Gospel, and has since been handed down pure and uncorrupt; or else was reformed and restored to its primitive simplicity at a much earlier period than among other nations;) in that case we declare, that we are ready to make common cause with you, and the rest of our brethren and allies of the reformed faith, and to consult how we may contribute most effectually to the consolation and security of men so cruelly oppressed.

Given at our court at Westminster, the 25th day of May, 1655.

Your high mightinesses' good friend,
OLIVER, PROTECTOR.

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Translation.

Most serene King,

The groans of those wretched men, the Protestant inhabitants of Lucerna and Angrogna, and other Alpine valleys, within the dominions

et Reformatam Religionem profitentium, quorum factæ cædes cruentissimæ nuper sunt, deque cæterorum direptione atque exilio tristissimi crebrò nuntii, has ad majestatem vestram literas à nobis expresserunt; præsertim cùm nunciatum quoque nobis sit (quàm verè nondum satis cognovimus) partim à cohortibus quibusdam vestris quæ cum aliis Allobrogum ducis copiis se conjunxerant, stragem hanc esse editam. Quod tamen haud temerè crediderimus, cùm neque bonorum principum, nec prudentissimorum majestatis vestræ majorum institutis consentaneum esse videatur, qui et sua in primis interesse, et ad pacem regni sui, reique totius Christianæ, quàm maximè conducere arbitrati sunt, uti subditos suos eam religionem colentes sub imperio suo ac patrocinio inviolatos, atque incolumes esse sinerent; qua illi clementia regum suorum permoti præclaram sæpe operam, et pace et bello suis regibus navarunt. Quod idem Allobrogum quoque ducibus persuasit, uti subjectos sibi Alpinarum vallium incolas eadem benignitate tractarent, qui et vicissim sui principis ad obsequium promptissimi, neque vitæ, neque fortunis propriis unquam pepercere. Nobis autem dubium non est, quin majestati vestræ ea necessitudo cum Sabaudiæ Duce intercedat, eaque auctoritas apud eum sit, ut intercessione vestra, ac propensæ voluntatis significatione, pax istis miseris, reditusq; in patriam, et libertas pristina impetrari facillimè possit. Quod factum et majestate vestra dignum erit, et à prudentia atque exemplo serenissimorum majorum vestrorum non alienum, neque solùm animos vestrorum subditorum, nequid sibi unquam ejusmodi metuant, magnopere confirmaverit, sed fæderatos etiam vestros atque socios, qui eandem religionem sequuntur, observantia longè majore ac benevolentia majestati vestræ devinxerit. Ad nos quod attinet, quicquid in hoc genere, vel vestris concedetur, vel aliorum subditis vestra causa impetrabitur, id nobis non minùs gratum, imo gratius profecto erit emolumento quovis alio atque commodo, ex iis quæ ab amicitia majestatis vestræ haud pauca nobis pollicemur. Dat. ex aula nostra Westmonasterii 25. Maii, 1655.

OLIVER, P.

of the Duke of Savoy, who were lately most cruelly murdered, and the lamentable tidings of the despoliation and banishment of the survivors of this massacre, which have reached our ears, have constrained us to write this letter to your majesty: more particularly as it has been reported to us (with what truth has not yet been ascertained), that this carnage has been committed by some of your own troops, conjointly with those of the Duke of Savoy. It is scarcely possible to believe that such proceedings have been resorted to, for they are neither consistent with the principles of good government, nor with those of your majesty's wise ancestors, who judged that they were best consulting their own interests, and the peace not only of their own kingdom, but of all Christendom, by permitting their subjects of the Reformed Religion to live securely and quietly under their protecting sceptre: in return for which indulgence, those grateful men did often perform the most eminent services for their sovereigns, both in peace and war. The Dukes of Savoy, in like manner, were wont to treat their subjects of the Alpine valleys with the same benignity, who, on their side, also displayed the most devoted loyalty, and never spared either their lives or their fortunes in the service of their princes. We feel confident, that your majesty's interest and authority with the Duke of Savoy are such, that if you would only employ your mediation, and express your good wishes, you would obtain indemnity for these poor people, and their restoration to their country and former privileges. Such an act would not only be worthy of your majesty, and of the wise example of your ancestors, but would re-assure your own subjects, who would then feel that they need entertain no fears on their own account; and it would conciliate your Protestant confederates and allies, and bind them to your majesty by the strongest ties of respect and affection. With regard to ourselves, whatever indulgence shall be conceded to your own subjects of the Reformed Religion, or obtained by your intercession for the subjects of others, will be received not only with the same, but even with greater gratitude than we could express, for any personal favour that we hope to derive from your majesty's friendship.

Given at our court at Westminster, the 25th of May, 1655.

OLIVER, PROTECTOR.

## 6. LETTER TO THE DUKE OF SAVOY.

Serenissime Princeps,

Redditæ sunt nobis multis ex locis ditioni vestræ finitimis literæ, quibus certiores facti sumus, regalis vestræ celsitudinis subditis Reformatam Religionem profitentibus, vestro edicto atque auctoritate imperatum nuper esse, uti triduo quum hoc edictum promulgatum erit, suis sedibus atque agris excedant, pœna capitis et fortunarum omnium amissione proposita, nisi fidem fecerint, se, derelicta religione sua intra dies viginti Catholicam religionem complexuros: cumque se supplices ad celsitudinem vestram contulissent, petentes uti edictum illud revocetur, utque ipsi pristinam in gratiam recepti, concessæ a serenissimis majoribus vestris libertati restituantur; partem tamen exercitus vestri in eos impetum fecisse, multos crudelissimè trucidasse, alios vinculis mandasse, reliquos in deserta loca, montesque nivibus coopertos expulisse, ubi familiarum aliquot centuriæ eo loci rediguntur, ut sit metuendum ne frigore, et fame brevi sunt misere omnes perituræ. Hæc cùm ad nos perlata essent, haud sanè potuimus quin hujus afflictissimi populi tanta calamitate audita, summo dolore ac miseratione commoveremur. Cùm autem non humanitatis modo sed ejusdem religionis communione, adeoque fraterna penitus necessitudine cum iis conjunctos nos esse fateamur, satisfieri à nobis, neque nostro erga Deum officio, neque fraternæ caritati, neque religionis ejusdem professioni posse existimavimus, si in hac fratrum nostrorum calamitate ac miseria, sub sensu doloris afficeremur, nisi etiam ad sublevanda eorum tot mala inopinata, quantum in nobis est situm, omnem operam nostram conferamus; itaq; a vestra imprimis celsitudine majorem in modum enixè petimus et obtestamur, ut ad instituta serenissimorum majorum suorum, concessamque ab iis omni tempore et confirmatam subditis suis vallensibus libertatem velit animum referre; in qua concedenda atque confirmanda, quemadmodum id præstiterunt, quòd Deo per se gratissimum procul dubio est, qui conscientiæ jus inviolabile, ac potestatem penes se unum esse voluit, ita dubium non est quin subditorum etiam suorum meritam rationem habuerint, quos et in bello

## Translation.

Most serene Prince,

We are informed by letters received from several places in the vicinity of your dominions, that the subjects of your royal highness, professing the reformed religion, have been commanded by an edict, published by your authority, to quit their habitations and lands, within three days after the promulgation of the said edict, under pain of death, and the confiscation of their property, unless they shall enter into an engagement to abjure their own, and to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, before the end of twenty days. We have learnt also, that, regardless of their humble petitions to your highness, praying that you would be pleased to revoke the said edict, and to grant the same privileges, which were anciently conceded by your serene ancestors, your army fell upon them, cruelly slaughtered great numbers, imprisoned others, and drove the rest to fly for refuge to desolate places, and to mountains covered with snow, where hundreds of families are reduced to such extremity, that, it is to be feared, they will all shortly perish with cold and hunger. Upon receiving intelligence of the melancholy condition of this most oppressed people, it was impossible not to feel the greatest commiseration and grief; for we not only consider ourselves united to them by the common ties of humanity, but by those of the same religion. Feeling, therefore, that we are invoked by the sacred voice of brotherly love, we declare that we should fail in our duty to ourselves, to God, to our brethren, and to the religion we profess, if we were not deeply moved by a sense of their calamities, and if we did not employ every means in our power, to obtain an alleviation of their unparalleled sufferings. It is on this account, that we most earnestly entreat, and conjure your highness, in the first place, to call to mind the enactments of your serene ancestors, and the concessions which they made and confirmed from time to time in favour of the Waldenses: which concessions were granted, no doubt, in obedience to the will of God, who desires that liberty of conscience should be the inviolable right of every man, and in consideration of the merits of these their subjects, who have ever been found valiant and faithful in war, and obedient in time

strenuos ac fidelissimos, et in pace dicto semper audientes experti fuissent; utque serenitas vestra in cæteris omnibus et benignè et gloriosè factis avorum suorum vestigiis optimè insistit, ita in hoc nolit ab iisdem discedere, etiam atque etiam obsecramus; sed et hoc edictum, et si quod aliud in quietandis reformatæ religionis causa subditis suis rogatum sit, uti abroget; ipsos patriis sedibus atque bonis restituat, concessa jura, ac libertatem pristinam ratam iis faciat, accepta damna sarciri, et eorum vexationibus finem imponi jubeat; quod si fecerit regalis celsitudo vestra, et rem Deo acceptissimam fecerit; miseros illos et calamitosos erexerit et recreaverit, et a suis omnibus vicinis, quotquot Reformatam Religionem colunt, maximam gratiam inierit, nobisque potissimum, qui vestram in illos benignitatem atque clementiam obtestationis nostræ fructum arbitrabimur. Quod et ad omnes officiorum reddendas vices nos obligaverit, nec stabiliendæ solùm, verùm etiam augendæ inter hanc rempublicam vestramque ditionem necessitudinis et amicitiæ fundamenta firmissima jecerit, neque verò hoc minus ab justitia vestra et moderatione animi nobis pollicemur. Quam in partem Deum opt. max. oramus uti mentem vestram et cogitationes flectat, vobisque adeò vestroque populo pacem ac veritatem, et successus rerum omnium felices ex animo precamur. Dat. ex aula nostra Westmonasterii, 25 Maii, anno 1655.

Oliver, P.

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### 7. LETTER OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY, IN ANSWER TO THAT OF CROMWELL.

Serenissime Domine,

Accepi literas à serenissima celsitudine vestra per D. Morlandum ad me transmissas 7 kal. Junii super suscitata meorum subditorum prætensam Reformatam Religionem profitentium rebellione, conscriptas; ex quibus non sine admiratione cognovi, vestræ Celsitudini delata fuisse gesta quamplurima, non minùs veritati, quam summæ æquitati et clementiæ, quæ rebellibus semper indulsi contraria, singularique

of peace. And as your serene highness has graciously and nobly trodden in the steps of your predecessors in all other things, we again and again beseech you, that you will not depart from them in this instance, but that you will revoke this edict, and any other that is oppressive to your subjects, in consequence of their professing the reformed religion; that you will restore them to their paternal habitations and property; that you will confirm their ancient rights and privileges; that you will cause reparation to be made for their injuries; and order an end to be put to all vexatious proceedings against them. If your highness will comply with this request, you will do what is most acceptable to God; you will comfort and support the minds of those unhappy sufferers, and you will be conferring a favour upon the neighbouring Protestant states, and especially upon us, who will ever consider such clemency as the effect of our intercession; which will oblige us to do every kind office in return, and will be the means not only of strengthening, but of renewing and encreasing the relations and friendship, which have subsisted between this commonwealth and your dominions. Promising ourselves much from your justice and moderation, we heartily pray God to direct your mind and thoughts, to grant you and your people the blessings of peace and truth, and to prosper all your undertakings.

Given at our court at Westminster, the 25th day of May, 1655.

OLIVER, PROTECTOR.

[*This letter is by far the most constrained and laboured of them all.*]

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Translation.

Most serene Lord,

I have received a letter from your most serene highness, of the 25th of May, delivered by Mr. Morland, relating to the rebellion of my subjects of the pretended reformed religion. It is with much surprize that I find many things have been reported to your highness, which are not only inconsistent with truth, but also with that equity and clemency, which I have always displayed towards these rebels; and which are

benignitati per opposita, quà non ut princeps rebellante subditorum contumacia justé commotus, ac eorundem in omne facinus projecta protervia petulantissimè lacessitus, sed amantis instar parentis in eos mitiùs quàm par fuerat animadvertere sategi, ut devios et aberrantes animos ad rectum obedientiæ tramitem revocarem, ac ex divinarum et humanarum legum præscripto refractarios ad eam quam debent principi suo fidelitatem, et obsequium perducerem. Quapropter operæ pretium duxi et verbo et scripto præfatum D. Morlandum jam omni cura, diligentia, et sedulitate ad investigandas rerum causas et successuum veritatem intentum, ut assolet, de omnibus certiorem facere, ut per eum faciliùs ac sinceriùs vestræ celsitudini cuncta innotescant, quibus sine fuco ab ea cognitis, ac prudenter æquitate gestorum expensa, futurum iri non dubito quin vestræ celsitudini planè non probentur, et altissimus pariter oboriatur stupor, dum in vallibus istis subditos extitisse deprehendet qui deterrima rebellantis vecordiæ, contumacisque immanitatis monstra videri potuerint, eo præsertim nomine, quod continuatis benevolentiæ argumentis, non modò majores meos, sed etiam regium parentem olim producem, et me in præsenti regnantem experti fuerint erga se unicè clementes, prodigèque munificos; et quamvis erga eos utpotè de me, de conterraneis ac Pedemontana regione pessimè meritos, nulla omnino clementia jure optimo exercenda foret, maximè cùm in dies pervicaciores effecti, parvìque ducentes quæ pro eis fiebant à D. Morlando officia, etiam post ejus adventum omnem in modum in obedientes subditos sævierunt, attamen ut omnibus clarissimè patescat quanti apud me ponderis, ac virtutis fuerint exposita mihi vestræ celsitudinis pro rebellibus officia, meam eò redigi patiar clementiam, ut satis ipsius factum votis, subditis rebellibus vallis Lucernæ, S. Martini et Perosæ veniam hujus ultimæ rebellionis indulgeam, sine ulla delictorum et personarum exceptione, quamvis sint proscriptæ, et ad catalogum majorem redactæ. Quæ quidem venia omnino insolita est, dum viget ubique terrarum consuetudo contraria, quæ rebellionis auctores, et fautores ab omni gratia excludit. Iisdem subditis liberum religionis exercitium intra consuetos limites permittam, omnia privilegia, gratias, et concessiones quibus usi fuerunt serenissimorum patris, et avi mei felicissimæ re-

equally contrary to that spirit of benignity, in which I have chastised them more mildly than they deserved, and rather as an affectionate parent, than as a prince justly provoked by the contumacy, and exasperated by the audacious insolence of his rebellious subjects: it having only been my object to recal those who had gone astray from the path of obedience; and, in conformity to divine and human laws, to restore such as were refractory to a sense of the fidelity and loyalty, which are due to their prince. Wherefore I have thought it expedient, both by word of mouth, and by writing, to put Mr. Morland in possession of all the facts, who, with his usual care and diligence, has endeavoured to investigate the truth, and to ascertain what has really occurred, in order that your highness may readily and completely be made acquainted with every particular. I am persuaded, that when the veil is removed, and the justice of the case is properly considered, your highness will be so far from approving of the conduct of my subjects of the valleys, that you will be struck with horror at the guilt of their rebellion, and will look upon them as monsters of iniquity, and especially after receiving so many proofs of benignity, not only from my ancestors, and my late royal father, but also from myself, who have been uniformly indulgent, and prodigal in munificence. And although no further clemency ought to be extended to them, as deserving nothing either at my hands, or of their countrymen in Piemont, and as having grown more and more rebellious every day, in their total disregard of Mr. Morland's kind offices; and in their inhuman treatment of some of our subjects who have remained loyal, yet, that it may be evident in the face of the world, what influence your mediation has had in regard to these rebels, I consent to every thing you require, and grant a free pardon to the rebels of the valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, for their late insurrection, without any exception of crimes or persons, however they may be represented in the list of proscriptions. Such a pardon is unprecedented; for it is the practice universally to exclude from every act of grace, the authors and fomenters of any rebellion. I shall also grant to my said subjects the free exercise of their religion, within the prescribed limits, and confirm all the privileges, favours, and immunities, which were conceded in the times of my father

cordationis temporibus confirmans. Intra eosdem limites bona omnia fisco addicta meo, et ad patrimonium ob perduellionis reatum, multàque alia crimina, devoluta, cum omni mulcta clementer remittam, nullum imponens onus, nec repetens belli expensas, quamvis aliàs aliter præteritis temporibus in simili eventu, et ob levius multò delictum serenissimi majores mei constituerunt. Quod verò bona spectat in locis prohibitis sita, duplici titulo fisco meo addicta, tam per acquisitionem et retentionem eorum contra dispositionem edictorum, quàm ex capite hujusce rebellionis, ea minimè duxi fisco applicanda, sed in gratiam celsitudinis vestræ eorundem subditorum commodo verti volui, quibus ea vendere aut permutare permisi, dummodò se intra toleratos limites contineant juxta formam concessionum prædictarum. Nec putem majori gratia affici potuisse subditos eosdem, quando illicò sui pœnituisset criminis, veniàmque supplices promereri, non verò addere sceleri scelus studuissent, nec temerario ausu indignationem sui principis multiplicatis facinoribus provocassent, sicut ab eis etiam peractum est ab tempore intercessionis celsitudinis vestræ. Verùm enimverò ea spe ducor, ut quò major ac spectabilior fuerit venia, eò major futurus sit amor in me, obsequium ac fides rebellium patrata flagitia detrectantium. Utque vestra celsitudo benevolentiam suis in literis erga me luculenter expressam in posterum inde magis foveat, nec non arctiora indies amicitiæ vincula reddat, quibus retroactis temporibus Angliæ regnum, Sabaudiæque status mutuò colligata fuerunt. Dum denique in eam facilè sententiam adducor, futurum videlicet ut insignis veneratio quæ mirificas ipsius animi dotes, singularem prudentiam, et heroicam virtutem toto jam orbe celeberrimam prosequor, mutua mihi honoris argumenta pro sua generositate planè conciliet. Vestræ celsitudini summam auspicor felicitatem. Ex castro meo Ripularum, die 20 Julii, 1655.

C. EMANUEL.

and grand-father, of happy memory; and shall restore all the confiscated property, and the estates within the limits forfeited by high treason, and shall remit the penalties and fines imposed for other crimes, and will not impose any burthen, nor exact the expences of the war, although in times past, and under similar circumstances, our serene ancestors have done so for much lighter offences. With regard to property beyond the limits, which is doubly confiscated, both on account of its having been acquired contrary to law, and of the rebellion, neither will I make a forfeiture of that, but am willing, for your highness' sake, to permit the value of it to be reserved for my said subjects, and to allow them to sell or exchange it, provided that they confine themselves within the tolerated limits, according to the terms of the concessions afore-mentioned. Greater indulgence could not have been shewn to my said subjects, even if they had immediately expressed sorrow for their crimes, and had supplicated my pardon, instead of studiously adding to their offences, and rashly provoking the indignation of their prince by multiplied trespasses, as they have done ever since your highness first interceded for them. But I trust that the greater the indulgence, the greater will be the attachment, submission, and fidelity, which these repentant rebels will shew in future: and I trust also, that your highness will in future cherish that good will, of which you have made such abundant profession in your letter; and that the bonds of amity, by which, in times past, the kingdom of England, and the states of Savoy, were united, will be daily drawn closer and closer. Lastly, I am readily inclined to believe, that the high esteem which I entertain for your wonderful talents, your rare wisdom, and heroic virtues, which are the admiration of the world, will be met by corresponding sentiments of regard on your part. May every happiness attend your highness.

Given from my castle at Rivola, the 20th day of July, 1655.

C. Emanuel.

### 8. SECOND LETTER TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Serenissime potentissimeque Rex,

Ex literis majestatis vestræ, quibus illa ad meas quinto et vigesimo Maii proximi datas rescribit, facile intelligo nequaquam fefellisse me eam opinionem, quà mihi quidem persuasum erat, cædes illas immanissimas, barbaramque eorum hominum stragem, qui Religionem Reformatam in Sabaudia profitentur, à cohortibus quibusdam vestris factam, neque jussu vestro neque mandato accidisse. Quæ quantum majestati vestræ displicuerit, id vos, et vestris militum tribunis, qui hæc tam inhumana suo solo impetu injussi perpetraverant, ita mature significasse, deque tanta crudelitate Ducem ipsum Sabaudiæ monuisse, pro reducendis denique istis miseris exulibus unde pulsi sunt, vestram omnem gratiam, necessitudinem, authoritatem tanta cum fide atque humanitate interposuisse, majorem equidem in modum sum lætatus. Ea nempe spes erat, illum principem voluntati ac precibus majestatis vestræ aliquid saltem hac in re fuisse concessurum. Verùm cùm neque vestro, neque aliorum principum rogatu atque instantia in miserorum causa quicquam esse impetratum perspiciam, haud alienum ab officio meo duxi, ut hunc nobilem virum extraordinarii nostri commissarii munere instructum ad Allobrogum Ducem mitterem; qui tantæ crudelitatis in ejusdem nobiscum religionis cultores, idque ipsius religionis odio adhibitæ quo sensu afficiar, uberiùs eidem exponat. Atque hujus quidem legationis eo feliciorem exitum speravero, si adhibere denuò et adhuc majore cum instantia suam auctoritatem atque operam majestati vestræ placuerit; et quemadmodum fideles fore illos inopes dictòque audientes principi suo ipsa in se recepit, ita velit eorundem incolumitati atque saluti cavere, ne quid iis hujusmodi injuriæ et calamitatis atrocissimæ innocentibus et pacatis deinceps inferatur. Hoc, cum in se justum ac verè regium sit, nec non benignitati vestræ atque clementiæ, quæ tot subditos vestro eandem illam religionem sequentes ubique salvos et incolumes præstat, summè consentaneum, à majestate vestra, ut par est, non possumus quin expectemus. Quæ hâc simul operâ, cum universos per sua regna Protestantes, quorum studium

### Translation.

Most serene and most potent King,

I am happy to understand, from your majesty's letter, in answer to mine of the 25th of May last, that I was not wrong in the opinion, that those most cruel murders, and barbarous massacre committed by certain troops of yours upon the professors of the reformed religion in Savoy, had neither your command nor authority. I am also extremely rejoiced to find, that your majesty has signified your strong disapprobation to your military commanders, who took upon themselves to perpetrate such atrocities without your orders; and that you have remonstrated with the Duke of Savoy upon the subject of such monstrous cruelty, and have interposed your influence and good offices with so much humanity and earnestness, for the restoration of those unhappy exiles. I did hope that that prince would have conceded something to the intercession of your majesty: but since neither your mediation, nor that of the other sovereigns and states, have been of any avail in their favour, I have thought it my imperative duty to send an ambassador extraordinary to the duke, to give a full explanation of my sentiments, in regard to his excessive cruelty towards the professors of the same religion with ourselves, on no other account but their religion. And in order to promote the success of this mission, I trust your majesty will be pleased to renew your remonstrances, and to give them greater weight than before: and as your majesty has already declared yourself responsible for the fidelity of these poor people to their prince, so you will now take upon yourself to guarantee their security and protection, that a repetition of such inhuman cruelty may not be inflicted upon them again. We cannot but expect this from your majesty, as being nothing but a just and royal proceeding, and perfectly consistent with the benignity and clemency, with which you have watched over the safety and welfare of so many of your subjects, who profess the same religion. By such an act, you will conciliate the affections of all the Protestants throughout your kingdom, who have given you so many proofs of their loyalty and attachment; and you

erga vos summaque fides maximis in rebus perspecta jam sæpe et cognita est, arctiùs sibi devinxerit, tum exteris etiam omnibus persuasum reddiderit, nihil ad hoc facinus contulisse regis consilium, quicquid ministri regii atque præfecti contulerunt. Præsertim si majestas vestra pænas ab iis ducibus ac ministris debitas repetiverit, qui auctoritate propriâ, suàque pro libidine tam immania patrare scelera sunt ausi. Interea cum majestas vestra factum hoc inhumanissimum, quo dignum est odio, aversari se testetur, non dubito quin miseris illis atque ærumnosis ad vos confugientibus, tutissimum in regno suo receptum atque perfugium sit præbitura; nec subditorum suorum cuiquam, ut contra eos Duci Allobrogum auxilio adsit, permissura. Extremum illud est, ut majestatem vestram, quanti apud me sua amicitia sit, certiorem faciam: cujus rei neque fidem neque fructum ullo tempore defuturum confirmo.

Dat. ex aula nostra Westmonasterii, 31 Julii, 1655.

will satisfy those of foreign nations, that you are not implicated in this iniquity, however much your ministers of state, and commanders, may be: more especially if your majesty will punish those ministers and commanders, who have presumed, upon their own authority, and out of their own malignity, to commit such monstrous atrocities. In the mean time, since your majesty disavows this most inhuman and detestable policy, I am confident you will give shelter and protection to such of the distressed refugees, as shall fly into your dominions for an asylum, and will not suffer any of your own subjects to assist the Duke of Savoy against them. It remains for me to assure your majesty of the value I set upon your friendship, and of my readiness, at all times, to give proof of the sincerity of my respect.

Given at our court at Westminster, July 31, 1655.

# N°. IX.

*The promises which were made to Cromwell, and to his Envoy, Sir Samuel Morland, not having been fulfilled, and the Vaudois having renewed their Complaints, the Correspondence on the same Subject recommenced in the Year* 1658, *and the following Letters passed upon the Subject.*

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## 1. LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL, PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Serenissime, potentissimeque Rex,

Meminisse potest majestas vestra quo tempore inter nos de renovando fœdere agebatur, quod optimis auspiciis initum multa utriusque populi commoda, multa hostium communium exinde mala testantur, accidisse miseram illam convallensium occisionem ; quorum causam undique desertam atque afflictam vestræ misericordiæ atque tutelæ summo cum ardore animi ac miseratione commendavimus. Nec defuisse per se arbitramur majestatem vestram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano pro ea qua apud Ducem Sabudiæ valere debuit, vel auctoritate, vel gratia: nos certè aliique multi principes ac civitates, legationibus, literis, precibus interpositis, non defuimus. Post cruentissimam utriusq; sexus, omnis ætatis trucidationem, pax tandem data est, vel potius inducta pacis nomine hostilitas quædam tectior: conditiones pacis vestro in oppido Pinerolii sunt latæ; duræ quidem illæ; sed quibus miseri atque inopes, dira omnia atque immania perpessi facilè acquiescerent, modo iis, duræ et iniquæ ut sint, staretur; non statur; sed enim earum quoque singularum falsâ interpretatione variisque diverticulis fides eluditur ac violatur; antiquis sedibus multi dejiciuntur, religio patria multis interdicitur, tributa nova exiguntur,

## N°. IX.

### Translation.

Most serene and potent King,

Your Majesty may remember, that at the time when the negotiation began between us, for the renewal of the alliance, which has proved so beneficial to the two nations, and so detrimental to our common enemies, the cruel massacre of the Vaudois took place; and that we earnestly and pathetically commended the cause of that unhappy people, who appeared to be oppressed and abandoned by all, to your pity and protection. We cannot believe that your majesty neglected to make use of your authority and influence with the Duke of Savoy, when it was so incumbent upon you to exert yourself in the pious and humane character of a mediator: as for ourselves, and many other princes and states, we interposed all that we could, by embassies, letters, and entreaties. The result was, that after a most barbarous slaughter of persons of both sexes, and of all ages, a treaty of peace was concluded, or rather secret acts of hostility were committed, the more securely under the name of a pacification. The conditions of the treaty were determined in your town of Pinerolo: hard conditions enough, but such as these poor people would gladly have agreed to, after the horrible outrages to which they had been exposed, provided that they

arx nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites crebrò erumpentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel trucidant: ad hæc nuper novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur; quique inter eos Romanam religionem colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur; ut omnia nunc rursus videantur ad illorum internecionem miserrimorum spectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit. Quod ego majestatem vestram obsecro atque obtestor, fieri ne siverit: nec tantam sæviendi licentiam, non dico principi cuiquam (neque enim in ullum principem, multo minus in ætatem illius principis teneram, aut in muliebrem matris animum tanta sævitia cadere potest) sed sacerrimis illis sicariis ne permiserit; qui cùm Christi Servatoris nostri servos atque imitatores sese profiteantur, qui venit in hunc mundum ut peccatores servaret, ejus mitissimo nomine atque institutis ad innocentium crudelissimas cædes abutuntur: eripiat majestas vestra, quæ potest, quæque in tanto fastigio digna est posse, tot supplices suos homicidarum ex manibus, qui cruore nuper ebrii, sanguinem rursus sitiunt, suæque invidiam crudelitatis in principes derivare consultissimum sibi ducunt. Vestra verò majestas regni sui fines ista crudelitate fœdari ne patiatur. Meminerit hos ipsos avi sui Henrici protestantibus amicissimi dedititios fuisse, cùm Diguierius per ea loca, quà etiam commodissimus in Italiam transitus est, Ducem Sabaudiæ trans Alpes cedentem victor est insecutus: deditionis illius instrumentum in actis regni vestri publicis etiamnum extat; in quo exceptum atque cautum inter alia est, ne cui postea convallenses traderentur, nisi iisdem conditionibus quibus eos majestatis vestræ avus invictissimus in fidem recepit. Hanc fidem nunc implorant avitam à nepote supplices requirunt: vestri esse quàm cujus nunc sunt, vel permutatione aliqua, si fieri possit, malint atque optarint; id si non licet, patrocinio saltem miseratione atque perfugio. Sunt et rationes regni quæ hortari possint ut majestas vestra convallenses ne rejiciat; sed nolim aliis rationibus ad defensionem calamitosorum quàm fide à majoribus data, pietate, regiaque animi benignitate ac magnitudine tantum regem permoveri. Ita pulcherrimi facti laus atque gloria illibata atque integra vestra erit, et ipsum patrem misericordiæ ejusque filium Christum regem, majestas vestra, cujus nomen atque doctrinam ab immanitate nefaria vindicaverit, eo magis faventem sibi atque propitium per omnem vitam experietur. Westmonasterio ex aula nostra Maii die 26, anno Domini 1658.

had been faithfully observed. But they were not observed: the meaning of the treaty is evaded and violated, by putting a false interpretation upon some of the articles, and by straining others: many of the complainants have been deprived of their patrimonies; and many have been forbidden the exercise of their religion: new payments have been exacted; and a new fort has been built, to keep them in check; from whence a disorderly soldiery make frequent sallies, and plunder or murder all they meet. In addition to these things, fresh levies of troops are clandestinely preparing to march against them; and those among them, who profess the Roman Catholic religion, have been advised to retire in time; so that every thing threatens the speedy destruction of such as escaped the former massacre. I do therefore beseech and conjure your majesty not to suffer such enormities, and not to permit (I will not say any prince, for surely such barbarity never could enter into the heart of a prince, much less of one of the duke's tender age, or into the mind of his mother,) those accursed murderers to indulge in such savage ferocity, who, while they profess to be the servants and followers of Christ, who came into the world to save sinners, do blaspheme his name, and transgress his mild precepts, by the slaughter of innocent men. Oh that your majesty, who has the power, and who ought to be inclined to use it, may deliver so many supplicants from the hands of murderers, who are already drunk with blood, and thirst for it again, and who take pleasure in throwing the odium of their cruelty upon princes. I implore your majesty not to suffer the borders of your kingdom to be polluted by such monstrous wickedness. Remember that this very race of people threw themselves upon the protection of your grandfather, King Henry IV. who was most friendly disposed towards the Protestants, when the Duke of Lediguieres passed victoriously through their country, as affording the most commodious passage into Italy, at the time he pursued the Duke of Savoy in his retreat across the Alps. The act or instrument of that submission is still extant among the public records of your kingdom, in which it is provided that the Vaudois shall not be transferred to any other government, but upon the same condition, that they were received under the protection of your invincible grandfather. As supplicants, of his grandson, they now implore the fulfilment of this compact: they would rather be your subjects than the duke's, and hope that it may be effected by some mode of exchange, if possible, and if not, that at least they may be taken under your patronage and protection. There are other reasons of state which might induce your majesty not to neglect the Vaudois, but I would not wish so great a king to be influenced by any thing but his regard to the faith pledged by his ancestors, and by his own piety, and royal benevolence and magnanimity. Thus the honour and praise of so glorious an act will be entirely your own, and your majesty will propitiate the grace and favour of the Father of Mercies, and our Lord Jesus Christ, whose name and doctrine you will vindicate against such nefarious and inhuman proceedings.

Given at our court at Wesminster, this 26th of May, 1658.

*This letter to the King of France was accompanied by the following instructions to Lord Lockhart, ambassador extraordinary at the French court, for which the Author is indebted to Morland's History.*

The continued troubles and vexations of the poor people of Piemont, professing the reformed religion, and that after so many serious instances of yours in the court of France on their behalf, and after such hearty recommendations of their most deplorable condition to his majesty in our name, who also has been pleased upon all such occasions to express very deep resentments of their miseries, and to give us no small hopes of interposing his power and interest with the Duke of Savoy, for the accommodating of those affairs, and for the restoring those poor distressed creatures to their ancient privileges and habitations, are matter of so much grief to us, and lie so near our heart, that notwithstanding we are abundantly satisfied with those many signal marks, you have hitherto given of your truly Christian zeal and tenderness on their regard, yet the present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction, begetting in us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed members of Christ, do really move us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care, desiring you to redouble your instances with the king, in such pathetic and affectionate expressions, as may be in some measure suitable to the greatness of their present sufferings and grievances, which (the truth is) are almost inexpressible. For, so restless and implacable is the malice and fury of their Popish adversaries, that, as though they esteemed it but a light matter to have formerly shed the innocent blood of so many hundreds of souls, to have burned their houses, to have razed their churches, to have plundered their goods, and to have driven out the inhabitants beyond the river Pelice, out of those their ancient possessions, which they had quietly enjoyed for so many ages and generations together, they are now resolved to fill their cup of affliction up to the brim, and to heat the furnace yet seven times hotter than before. Amongst other things,

1. First, they forcibly prohibit all manner of public exercises at San Giovanni, which notwithstanding the inhabitants have enjoyed time out of mind; and in case they yield not ready obedience to such most unrighteous orders, they are immediately summoned before their courts of justice, and there proceeded against in a most severe and rigorous manner, and in sum, threatened to be wholly destroyed and exterminated.

2. And forasmuch as in the said valleys, there are not found among the natives men fitly qualified, and of abilities for ministerial functions, to supply so much as one half of their churches, and upon this account they are necessitated to entertain some out of France and Geneva, which are the Duke of Savoy's friends and allies; their popish enemies take hold of this advantage, and make use of this stratagem, namely, to banish and drive out the shepherds of the flocks, that so the wolves may the better come in, and devour the sheep.

3. To this we may add their strict prohibition of all physicians and chirurgiens of the Reformed Religion to inhabit in the valleys, and thus they attempt not only to starve their souls for want of spiritual food and nourishment, but to destroy their bodies likewise for want of those outward conveniences and helps, which God has allowed to all mankind.

4. And as a supplement to the three former grievances, those of the Reformed Religion are prohibited all manner of commerce and trade with their Popish neighbours, that so they may not be able to subsist and maintain their families, and if they offend herein in the least, they are immediately apprehended as rebels.

5. Moreover, to give the world a clear testimony what their main design in all these oppressions is, they have issued out orders whereby to force the poor Protestants to sell their lands and houses to their Popish neighbours, whereas the Papists are prohibited upon pain of excommunication to sell any immoveable to the Protestants.

6. Besides, the court of Savoy have rebuilt the fort of La Torre, contrary to the formal and express promise made by them to the ambassador of the Evangelical cantons, where they have also placed commanders, who commit the lord knows how many excesses and outrages in all the neighbouring parts, without being ever called to question, or compelled to make restitution for the same.

7. If by chance any murder be committed in the valleys (as is too often practised) whereof the authors are not discovered, the poor Protestants are immediately accused as guilty thereof, to render them more odious to their neighbours.

8. There are sent lately into the valleys several troops of horse and companies of foot, to take up fresh quarters in all those parts, as is pretended, which hath caused the poor people out of fear of a massacre, with great expence and difficulty, to send their wives, and little ones, with all that were feeble or sick amongst them, into the valley of Perosa, under the King of France's dominions.

These are, in short, the principal grievances, and this is the present state and condition of those poor people, even at this very day, whereof you are to use your utmost endeavours to make his majesty thoroughly sensible, and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual orders to his ambassador, who resides in the duke's court, to act vigorously in their behalf. Our letter, which you shall present his majesty, for this end and purpose, contains in it several reasons, which, we hope, will move his heart to the performance of this charitable and merciful work. And we desire you to second and animate the same with your most earnest solicitations, representing unto him how much his own interest and honour is concerned in the making good that accord of Henry IV, his royal predecessor, with the ancestors of those very people, in the year 1592, by the constable of Lesdiguieres, which accord is registered in the parliament of Dauphiné, and whereof you have an authentic copy in your own hands, whereby the Kings of France oblige themselves, and their successors, to maintain and preserve their ancient privileges and concessions. Besides that, the gaining to himself the hearts of that people, by so gracious and remarkable a protection and deliverance, might be of no little use another day in relation to Pinerolo, and the adjacent places under his dominions.

One of the most effectual remedies which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present, is, that the King of France would be pleased to make an exchange with the Duke of Savoy for those valleys, resigning over to him some other parts of his dominions in lieu thereof, as in the reign of Henry IV. the marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the duke for La Bresse, which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his majesty, as well for the safety of Pinerolo, as for the opening a passage for his forces into Italy, which, if under the dominion, and in the hands of so powerful a prince, joined with the natural strength of those places, by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable.

By what we have already said, you see our intentions, and therefore we leave all other particulars to your special care and conduct; and rest,

OLIVER, P.

May 26, 1658.

## 2. LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE SWISS CANTONS OF THE REFORMED RELIGION.

Illustres atque amplissimi Domini,

De convallensibus vicinis vestris afflictissimis, quàm sunt à principe suo gravia et intoleranda religionis causa passi, tum propter ipsam rerum atrocitatem horret prope animus recordari, tum ad vos ea scribere, quibus notiora multo sunt, supervacuum duximus. Exempla etiam literarum vidimus quas legati vestri, pacis jamdudum Pinerolianæ hortatores atque testes, ad Allobrogum Ducem illiusque Taurinensis consilii præsidem scripserunt; in quibus ruptas esse omnes pacis conditiones, illisque miseris fraudi potius quàm securitati fuisse, singulatim ostendunt atque evincunt. Quarum violationem ab ipsa statim pace data in hunc usque diem continuatam, et indies graviorem, nisi æquo animo patiuntur, nisi se conculcandos planè et pessum-dandos prosternunt atque abjiciunt religione etiam ejurata, impendet eadem calamitas, eadem strages, quæ ipsos cum conjugibus ac liberis tertio ab hinc anno sic miserabilem in modum attrivit atque afflixit, et subeunda iterum si est, funditus eradicabit. Quid agant miseri? quibus nulla deprecatio, nulla respiratio, nullum adhuc certum perfugium patuit; res est cum feris aut cum furiis, quibus priorum cædium recordatio nullam pœnitentiam, aut suorum civium miserationem, nullum sensum humanitatis aut fundendi sanguinis satietatem attulit. Hæc ferenda planè non sunt, sive fratres nostros convallenses orthodoxæ religionis cultores antiquissimos, sive ipsam religionem salvam volumus. Et nos quidem locorum intervallo plus nimio disjuncti, quod opis aut facultatis nostræ fuit et præstitimus ex animo, et præstare non desinemus. Vos qui non modo fratrum cruciatibus ac penè clamoribus, verum etiam eorundem furori hostium proximi estis, prospicite per Deum immortalem, idque maturè, quid vestrarum nunc partium sit; quid auxilii, quid præsidii vicinis ac fratribus alioqui mox perituris ferre possitis ac debeatis, prudentiam vestram ac pietatem, fortitudinem etiam vestram consulite. Causa certè eadem est, religio, cur iidem hostes vos quoque perditos velint, immo cur eodem tempore, eodem superiore

## Translation.

Illustrious and most magnificent Lords,

It is needless to enter into any detail regarding the intolerable grievances of your poor oppressed neighbours, the Vaudois: they are much better known to you than to ourselves, and our heart revolts at the very mention of such atrocities. We have seen copies of the letters which your ambassadors, who were promoters and witnesses of the treaty of Pinerolo, wrote to the Duke of Savoy, and to the president of his council at Turin, in which they plainly assert and prove that all the articles of the treaty have been broken, and that they have been made use of to deceive, and not to give security to those unhappy people. And unless the Vaudois will patiently consent to the continual violation of the treaty, which becomes more intolerable every day, and tamely submit to be trodden under foot, and renounce the religion which they have sworn to maintain, the same calamities hang over their heads, and a similar massacre will be repeated, which reduced them and their wives and children to such a lamentable condition about three years ago: and which, if renewed again, must inevitably exterminate the whole race. What can these poor creatures do? They are permitted to have no appeal, no respite, no refuge: they have to do with wild beasts, with furies, who feel no compunction for the former butcheries they committed; who have no compassion for their countrymen, and no feelings of humanity; and whom blood cannot satiate. Such iniquity is not to be endured; whether we regard the safety of our brethren, the Vaudois, who are the most ancient professors of the orthodox faith, or that of religion itself. For our own parts, we, who are at so great a distance from the scene of cruelty, have done, and will zealously continue to do, all that is in our power to prevent it: and we conjure you, who are so close to the spot, where the cries of your tortured brethren are heard, and where the fury of their enemies is broke loose, to consider what is incumbent upon you. Consult your prudence, your piety, and your courage, as to the degree of protection and assistance, which your perishing neighbours and brethren

anno fœderatorum vestrorum intestino marte perditos voluerint. Vestra duntaxat in manu, post opem divinam videtur esse, ne purioris ipsa stirps religionis vetustissima in illis priscorum fidelium reliquiis excindatur: quorum salutem in extremum jam discrimen adductam si negligitis, videte ne vosmetipsos paulo post proximæ vices urgeant. Hæc dum fraternè ac liberè hortamur, ipsi interea non languescimus: quod solum nobis conceditur tam longinquis, cùm ad procurandam periclitantium incolumitatem, tum ad sublevandam egentium inopiam, omnem operam nostram et contulimus et conferemus. Deus det utrisque nobis eam domi tranquillitatem ac pacem, eum rerum ac temporum statum, ut omnes nostras opes atque vires, omne studium ad defendendam ecclesiam suam contra hostium suorum furorem ac rabiem convertere possimus.

Westmonasterii ex aula nostra Maii die 26, anno Dom. 1658.

demand at your hands. The cause of religion is at stake: it is the cause for which the same enemy would gladly see you destroyed; and true enough they hoped that you would have been destroyed in the civil war with your confederates of the former year. It depends upon you, with the help of God, to see that the original stock of the true religion be not cut down with the remnant of its ancient professors: its existence is now in the utmost danger; if you neglect it, take heed lest your own fate be determined next. While we are giving this free and brotherly advice, we are not relaxing in our own endeavours; but are making, and will make, every effort that our distance allows, for the deliverance of those whose lives are threatened, and for the relief of such as are in want. God grant to us both, such peace and tranquillity at home, and such prosperity and opportunities, as may enable us to employ all our means, our power, and good offices, to defend his church against the fury and rage of its enemies.

Given at our court at Westminster, this 26th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1658.

# Nº. X.

## *The Bull of Pope Innocent the Eighth, for the Extirpation of the Waldenses, given to Albertus de Capitaneis, Legate and Commissioner, in the Year* 1487.

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The original was contained in volume G, of the Cambridge Manuscripts, which volume has been stolen from the public library of that University; but a copy, of which the following is a transcript, is preserved, together with the English translation, in Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont.

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Albertus de Capitaneis, juris utriusque doctor, archidiaconus ecclesiæ Cremonensis, et Blaxius de Bena, ordinis Prædicatorum, sacræ theologiæ professor, hæreticæ pravitatis inquisitor, et in hac parte nuncii et commissarii a sanctissimo in Christo Patre Domino nostro, Domino Innocentio, Divinâ Providentiâ, Papa octavo, specialiter deputati, &c. Universis et singulis dominis, abbatibus, prioribus, præpositis, plebanis, vice-plebanis, decanis, archidiaconis, scholasticis, cantoribus, custodibus, thesaurariis, sacristis, tam cathedralium quam collegiarum, canonicis, parochialiumque ecclesiarum

Albertus de Capitaneis, doctor of both laws, archdeacon of the church of Cremona, and Blaxius de Bena, of the order of Preachers, professor of divinity, inquisitor against the perverseness of heretics, and for this end messengers and commissioners in a special manner deputed by our most holy father in Christ our Lord, the Lord Innocent the Eighth, by Divine Providence, Pope, &c. To all and every one the lords, abbots, priors, overseers of the people, &c. their vicegerents, deans, archdeacons, scholars, singers, keepers, treasurers, sacrists, canons, as well of cathedral as collegiate churches, and

rectoribus seu horum locatorum curatis, et non curatis, vicariis perpetuis, altaristis, cæterisque presbyteris, clericis, notariis, et tabellionibus publicis ac secum residentibus et ministralibus gradualibus, et quarumcunque curiarum, tam spiritualium quam temporalium, judiciis juratis per civitates et dioceses Ebrodunensem, Lugdunensem, Viennensem, aut alias ubilibet constitutis, et eorum cuilibet in solidum, illique vel illis ad quem vel ad quos nostræ præsentes, imò verius apostolicæ literæ pervenerint, aut præsentatæ fuerint, salutem in Domino. Et nostris hujusmodi, imo verius apostolicis, firmiter obedire mandatis, literas seu bullas commissionis nostræ apostolicas debitè sigillo plumbeo cum cordulâ cannabis in pendente more Romanæ curiæ bullatas sanas et integras, nec in aliqua earum parte de vitio falsitatis suspectas sed omni prorsus vitio et suspicione carentes, nos cum ea qua decuit reverentia monentes recepisse hujusmodi sub tenore ;

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Alberto de Capitaneis, archidiacono eccle-

parochial rectors, or their constituted curates, and parochial vicars without cure, altarists, and all other priests, clerks, notaries, and public registers, and residents with them, and ministerial graduates, and sworn judges of all courts, as well spiritual as temporal, throughout the cities and dioceses of Evreux, Lyons, Vienne, and others constituted in any other place; each of them entirely, and to him or them, to whom severally or jointly these our presents (or in truth rather apostolical letters) shall come or be presented, greeting in the Lord. Our said commissioner being straightly commanded to obey these our (or rather truly apostolical) commands, hath signified to us, with due reverence, as became him, that he had received letters or apostolical bulls, signed duly with a leaden seal, hanging by a hempen string, after the manner of the Romans, as bulls are usually made valid and entire, nor suspected of any falsification in any part thereof, but wholly free from all fault and suspicion, according to the tenor and form following.

Innocentius, bishop, a servant of the servants of God, to our beloved son, Albertus de Capitaneis, siæ Cremonensis, ad dominia dilecti filii nobilis viri Caroli Ducis Sabaudiæ citra et ultra montes per Delphinatum, Viennensem, et Sedunensem civitatem et diocesim ac illis adjacentia loca nostro et apostolicæ sedis nuncio et commissario salutem et apostolicum benedictionem.

Id nostri cordis vota præcipue deposcunt, ut pro quibus super eorum ascribendis cœtui ipse omnium summus rerum opifex humanos languores perpeti voluit; nos quibus gregis sui curam regimenque commisit, illos ab errorum præcipitiis vigilanti curemus eripere studio, ut eorum saluti divina nobis propiciante gratia jugiter intendamus ad nostrum, qui desideranter in votis gerimus ut fides Catholica nostris prosperetur temporibus, et pravitas hæretica de finibus fidelium extirpetur.

Non sine displicentia grandi pervenit auditumque quod nonnulli iniquitatis filii, incolæ provinciæ Ebrodunensis, sectatores illius perniciosissimæ et abominabilis sectæ hominum malignorum pauperum

archdeacon of the church of Cremona, nuncio of the see apostolic, and our commissioner for the dominions of our beloved son, that noble person, Charles, Duke of Savoy, on this and on the other side of the mountains, through the city and diocese of the Delphinate, Vienne, and Sedun, and the places near adjoining thereunto, greeting and apostolical benediction.

Our hearty desires chiefly tend to this, that as touching those for the gaining of whom to the church the supreme Maker of all things was pleased himself to undergo human infirmities, we, to whom he hath committed the care and government of his flock, may, with all watchful industry, endeavour to withdraw them from the precipices of errors, that providing for their salvation, as it shall please God to favour us with grace, we may continually labour, that the Catholic faith may in our times be propagated, and the evil of heresy be rooted out from the borders of the faithful.

We have heard, and it is come to our knowledge, not without much displeasure, that certain sons of iniquity, inhabitants of the province of Evreux, followers of that abominable and pernicious sect of

de Lugduno, seu Valdensium nuncupatorum, quæ dudum in partibus Pedemontanis, et aliis circumvicinis, procurante satore malorum operum, per studiosa diverticula et præcipitia latebrosa, oves Deo dicatas illaqueare, et demum ad perditionem animarum perducere, mortifera sagacitate conatur, damnabiliter insurrexit, sub quadam simulata sanctitatis specie, in reprobum sensum ducti a via veritatis vehementer abhorreat, et superstitiosas ac hereticas ceremonias sectantes, quam plurima orthodoxæ fidei contraria et oculos Divinæ Majestatis offendentia, ac gravissimum in se animarum periculum continentia dicunt, faciunt et committunt. Et cum dilectus filius Blasius de Monte regali ordinis prædicatorum et theologiæ professor, inquisitor generalis in partibus illis, per olim generalem magistrum dicti ordinis, et deinde per dilectum filium nostrum Dominicum t̄t, sancti Clementis, presbyterum cardinalem, in partibus illis apostolicæ sedis legatum, et demum per felicis recordationis Sixtum Papam IV. immediatum predecessorem nostrum ad hujusmodi et alios quoscunque errores extirpandos destinatus, ad provinciam ipsam se contulisset, ut eos ad abjurandum

malignant men, who are called the poor people of Lyons, or the Waldenses, who have long ago endeavoured in Piemont, and other neighbouring parts, by the instigation of him who is the sower of evil works, through by-ways, purposely sought out, and hidden precipices, to insnare the sheep belonging unto God, and at last to bring them to the perdition of their souls by deadly cunning, are damnably risen up under a feigned pretence of holiness, being led into a reprobate sense, and do greatly err from the way of truth; and following superstitious and heretical ceremonies, do say, act, and commit very many things contrary to the orthodox faith, offensive to the eyes of the Divine Majesty, and which do occasion a very great hazard of souls. And whereas our beloved son, Blasius de Monte Regali, of the preacher's order, and professor of divinity, and general inquisitor in those parts, was appointed heretofore by the general master of the said order, and afterward by our beloved son, Dominicus t̄t, priest of St. Clement, and cardinal, and legate of the apostolical see in those parts; and lastly, by our immediate predecessor of blessed memory, Pope Sixtus the

errores prædictos, et veram Christi fidem profitendam induceret, more duri aspidis aures suas obturantes, nedum pessimos et perversos errores suos deposuerunt, maxima mala malis addentes, illas publicè prædicare, et prædicationibus alios Christi fideles in eosdem errores protrahere, ejusdem inquisitoris excommunicationes et interdicta, aliasque censuras vilipendere, domum habitationis ejusdem subvertere, et quæ in ea erant nonnullorumque aliorum fidelium bona diripere ejusdemque inquisitoris famulum interficere, certamen hostili more inire; illorum dominis temporalibus resistere, et illorum bona deprædari, ipsosque et eorum familias a suis parochiis perfugas facere, domus incendere seu evertere, et a reditibus privatos tenere, et quæ potuerint eis damna inferre, infinita quoque alia detestabilia ac abhorrenda facinora perpetrare veriti non fuerunt.

Nos igitur hujusmodi sectam

IVth, to extirpate such like and all other errors whatsoever, having transported himself unto that province, that he might induce them to abjure the errors aforesaid, and to make profession of the true Christian faith, they were so far from leaving their most wicked and perverse errors, that, stopping their ears like the deaf adder, adding greatly evil to evil, they did preach publicly those errors, and, by their preaching, did draw other Christian believers thereunto; despising the excommunications, and prohibitions, and other censures of the same inquisitor, overthrowing the house of his habitation, and the things that were therein, as also plundering the goods of some others, true believers, killing the servant of the same inquisitor, and waging a war in a hostile manner, resisting their temporal lords, and making spoil of their goods, forcing them and their families to fly from their parishes, burning and demolishing their houses, depriving them of all their revenues, and doing them all the harm they could; together with an infinite number of other detestable and horrible acts, which they were not afraid to commit.

We therefore having determined

detestabilem et præmissos ipsius execrandos errores ne propagentur ulterius, neve per eos corda fidelium damnabiliter corrumpantur ab ecclesia Catholica, prout ex debito pastoralis officii tenemur evellere, et radicitus extirpare, ac hujusmodi temerarios ausus reprimere cupientes omnes conatus nostros adhibere, omnemque solicitudinem impendere decrevimus, ac sumentes de tuis literarum scientia, consilii maturitate, fidei zelo, et in agendis experientia in domino fiduciam specialem, pariter et sperantes quod ea quæ tibi pro hujusmodi extirpandis erroribus committenda duxerimus probè et laudabiliter exequeris, te nostrum et apostolicæ sedis nuncium et commissarium, ad dominia dilecti filii Caroli Sabaudiæ Ducis ac Delphinatum, Viennen civitatem et diocesem Sedunensem, et illis adjacentes provincias, civitates, terras et loca quæcunque, pro hac Dei et fidei causa impresentiarum duximus destinandum, ut eundem inquisitorem ad sui officii liberum exercitium recipi et admitti facias, et eorundem nefandissimos Valdensium sectæ sectatores, et alios hæreticæ pravitatis cujuslibet labe pollutos ad abjurandum eorum errores, et parendum mandatis inqui-

to use all our endeavours, and to employ all our care, as we are bound by the duty of our pastoral charge, to root up and extirpate such a detestable sect, and the foresaid execrable errors, that they may not spread further, and that the hearts of believers may not be damnably perverted from the Catholic church; and to repress such rash undertakings; and having special confidence in the Lord concerning your learning, your ripeness in counsel, your zeal in the faith, and your experience in the management of affairs; and in like manner hoping that you will truly and faithfully execute the things which we shall think good to commit unto you for the extirpating of such errors; we have thought good to constitute you at this time, for this cause of God and the faith, the nuncio commissioner of us, and of the apostolical see, within the dominions of our beloved son, Charles, Duke of Savoy, and the Delphinate, and the cities and diocese of Vienne, and Sedun, and the adjacent provinces, cities, lands, and places whatsoever, to the end you should cause the same inquisitor to be received and admitted to the free exercise of his office, and that you should induce the fol-

sitoris ejusdem et tuis, opportunis remediis inducas; et ut id tanto facilius efficere valeas, quanto major fuerit tibi per nos data facultas, et auctoritas attributa tibi, per te vel alium seu alios movendi et instantissimè requirendi universos archiepiscopos et episcopos in ducatu, Delphinatu, et adjacentibus locis prædictis constitutos, quos in partem solicitudinis nobiscum evocavit altissimus, eisque in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandandi ut unà cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris locorum ordinariis vel eorum vicariis, seu officialibus generalibus in quorum civitatibus et diocesibus duxeris ad præmissa procedendum et injunctum tibi officium exequendum, et cum inquisitore præfato viro, utique literarum scientia prædito, et fervore fidei et zelo salutis animarum accenso, se tibi in præmissis assistere et unà tecum ad eorum executionem procedere potuerint vel voluerint adversus Valdenses prædictos et alios quoscunque hæreticos armis insurgant, eosque veluti aspides venenosos communicatis invicem processibus conculcent; et ut populi eorum curæ crediti in confessione veræ fidei persistant et roborentur, diligenter procurent; et ad eorundem hæretico-

lowers of the most wicked sect of the Waldenses, and all other polluted with any other heretical corruption whatsoever, to abjure their errors, and to obey the commandments of the same inquisitor, and give way to your seasonable remedies: and that you may do this so much the more easily, by how much the greater power and authority is given you by us, to wit, a power that by yourself, or by some other person or persons, you may admonish and require most urgently all archbishops and bishops seated in the Duchy, Delphinate, and the other forenamed adjacent places, whom the most High hath called to share with us in our cares, and command them, by virtue of holy obedience, that, together with our venerable brethren the ordinaries of the places, or their vicars, or general officials, in whose cities and dioceses you shall think fit to proceed with the orders, and to execute the office which is enjoined you with the forenamed inquisitor, a man no doubt endued with learning and fervent zeal for the salvation of souls, they do assist you in the orders; and together with you be able and willing to proceed to the excution thereof against the forerum tam sanctam tamque pernecessariam exterminationem et dissipationem adhibeant omnes conatus, omnemque solicitudinem impendant promptis animis ut tenentur, nilque ex his quæ ad id conferre possint omittant requirendi.

Insuper tam carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Carolum Francorum regem illustrem, et dilectos filios nobiles viros Carolum Sabaudiæ, et locorum adjacentium prædictorum duces, principes, comites et temporales Dominos civitatum, terrarum et locorum universitates, et superioris Alemaniæ confederatos, et alios quoscunque Christo fideles illorum partium, ut clypeum defensionis orthodoxæ fidei quam in susceptione sacri baptismatis professi sunt, et causæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi per quam reges regnant et domini dominantur, assumant; et eisdem

named Waldenses, and all other heretics whatsoever, to rise up in arms against them, and by a joint communication of processes, to tread them under foot as venomous adders, and to procure diligently that the people committed to their charge do persist in the confession of the true faith, and be confirmed therein; and that they do with a ready mind, as they are bound, use all their endeavours, and bestow all their care towards so holy and so necessary an extermination and dispersion of the same heretics: and they are to be required to omit nothing which may contribute thereunto.

Moreover, that Charles, our most beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of France, and our beloved sons, the noble Charles of Savoy, and the dukes of the adjacent forenamed places, and the princes, earls, and temporal lords of the cities, territories, and universities, and the confederates of High Germany, and all others of those parts who are believers in Christ, do take up the shield of the orthodox faith, which they did profess when they were baptized, and of the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom kings reign, and lords bear rule, and give

archiepiscopis, episcopis, et tibi ac vicariis seu officialibus generalibus prædictis ac inquisitori, opportunis favoribus et seculario brachio eorum, prout expedire cognoverint, in executione tam pernecessariæ et salutaris inquisitionis officii hujusmodi assistant, et adversus eosdem nefandissimos hæreticos pro defensione fidei, pro salute patriæ, pro tuitione propria et suorum omnium se ardenter opponant, et illos exterminare et delere procurent: et si expedire putaveris universos, fideles illarum partium, ut contra eosdem hæreticos, salutiferæ crucis signo in cordibus et vestibus assumpto, viriliter pugnent per idoneos verbi Dei prædicatores crucem sive cruciatam prædicantes exhortari et induci faciendi, ac cruce signatis ac contra eosdem hæreticos pugnantibus vel ad id contribuentibus, ut plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem juxta tuam desuper ordinationem semel in vita, et etiam in mortis articulo assequantur concedendi; præcipiendi quoque in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ et sub excommunicationis

assistance to the same archbishops, bishops, and to you and the foresaid vicars and general officials, and to the inquisitor, with seasonable favours, and their secular power, as they shall see it expedient for the execution of this most necessary and wholesome inquisition; and ardently oppose themselves against those most detestable heretics, for the defence of the faith, for the safety of their native country, and for the preservation of themselves, and of all that belong unto them, by procuring that they may be exterminated and destroyed. And if you shall think it expedient, to cause, exhort, and induce all the faithful in those parts, by fit preachers of God preaching the cross or the crusade, to fight manfully against the same heretics, having taken the saving sign of the cross upon their hearts and garments: and to grant, that such as are signed with the cross, and fight against the said heretics, or such as contribute thereunto, may obtain, according to your appointment, once in their life, and also at the point of death, a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins; and also to command by virtue of holy obedience, and under the penalty of

latæ sententiæ pœnas quibuscunq; idoneis verbi Dei prædicatoribus secularibus et cujuscunq; ordinis etiam mendicantium exempti et non exempti regularibus, ut eosdem fideles excitare et inflammare debeant ad hujusmodi labem vi et armis de medio exterminandam, et ut suis viribus et facultatibus occurrant ad commune periculum repellendum mandandi. Absolvendi insuper sic crucem assumentes, pugnantes, vel contribuentes et consentientes, ab omnibus et singulis ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et pœnis quibus forsan qualitercunq; ligati forent, præterquam ab hodie specialiter latis, a quibus ligatos prævia satisfactione vel parte consentiente duntaxat absolvendi. Nec non cum eis dispensandi super irregularitate divinis se immiscendi, vel ex apostasia qualibet contracta et super occulte vel male perceptis, ac bonis indebite acquisitis incertis, in expugnationem hæreticorum duntaxat convertendi, concordandi et componendi; quæcunque etiam cum juramento peregrinationis et abstinentia ac alia emissa vota, castitatis et ingressus religionis, ac

the sentence of excommunication, already given to all fit preachers of God's word, seculars and regulars, of what order soever, also of the mendicants, exempted and not exempted, that they stir up and inflame the same believers, to root out this kind of pest by force of arms, and to set themselves against the common danger with their best strength and faculties. And moreover, to absolve such as thus take up the cross, fighting, or contributing, or consenting thereunto, from all and every ecclesiastical sentences, censures, and penalties, wherewith happily they may in any wise be bound; except from such as this day in a special manner are denounced, from which they that are bound therewith are to be absolved by a previous satisfaction, or alone by the consent of the party. And also to dispense with them, concerning the irregularity contracted by intrusion into holy things, or by reason of any kind of apostacy; or concerning goods secretly and unjustly gotten, or uncertain goods unduly purchased, to agree and compound, that they may be applied only to the war against heretics. Also to exchange all vows made with an oath of pilgrimage

ultra marino et visitationis liminum apostolicorum, et ecclesiæ sancti Jacobi in Compostella votis duntaxat exceptis, in defensionem Catholicæ fidei contra hæreticos, venientibus et pugnantibus seu ad id contribuentibus vel tantum dantibus quantum verisimiliter expositurі essent in transitu ad loca debita, vel aliis debitis, pensatis locorum et personarum qualitatibus, prout tibi seu per te ad hoc deputandis confessoribus idoneis videbitur in hoc ipsum commutandi. Interea super ipsa cruciata et congregando exercitu in ducem belli et capitaneum unum vel plures, idoneos nostro et ecclesiæ Romanæ nomine eligendi, deputandi et confirmandi, et ut onus hoc ad laudem et defensionem fidei suscipere, et fideliter gerere, et ut reliqui omnes ei vel eis obediant pariter et intendant, injungendi et mandandi, bona quæcunque mobilia et immobilia hæreticorum quibuscunque licitè occupandi et concedendi, ac ea quæ hæretici ad terras Catholicorum vel e contra ex terris Catholicorum ducerent aut duci facerent in prædam dandi; omnibus quoque in servitiis hære-

and abstinency, and other the like vows, except only those of chastity, and of entering into religious orders, and going beyond the seas, and of visiting the thresholds of the apostles, and the church of St. James, in Compostella, to them that go to fight for the defence of the Catholic faith against the heretics, or to such as contribute thereunto, or do give so much as in all likelihood they would expend in passing to those places, or as the due qualities of places and persons being considered, it shall seem good to you, or to fit confessors by you to be deputed. In the mean time to choose, depute, and confirm one or more fit generals of war, and captains, for the collecting the crusade army, in our name, and in the name of the church of Rome, and command them that they take this burden upon them, and execute it faithfully for the praise and defence of the faith; and that all others do endeavour jointly to obey him or them: and to enjoin, that all the moveable and immovable goods of the heretics may be lawfully seized and given away by any body whatsoever; and to make a booty of all goods which the heretics bring, or cause to be brought, unto the ter-

ticorum eorundem existentibus ubicunque ut intra terminum, per te eis præfigendum, discedant sub pœnis de quibus tibi videbitur mandandis; illosque ac ecclesiasticos et seculares quoscunque, cujuscunque dignitatis, ætatis, sexus vel ordinis existant, sub excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti pœnis monendi et requirendi ut mandatis apostolicis reverenter obediant et intendant; ac ab omni commercio hæreticorum prædictorum abstineant: ac eos et alios quoscunque qui eis ex quovis contractu vel aliter qualitercunque tenerentur vel obligarentur, ad aliqua illis statuenda et solvenda nullatenus deinceps obligari et ad id posse compelli eadem auctoritate declarandi.

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In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem, et testimonium præmissorum, præsentes literas seu præsens publicum instrumentum hujusmodi nostras avocationis, citationis, et inhibitionis in se conti-

ritories of the Catholics, or carry, or cause to be carried, out of the same; and to command, that all who are in the service of the same heretics any where, shall depart within the time by you prefixed unto them, under such penalties as you shall see good; and to admonish and require them, and all ecclesiastical and secular persons, of what dignity, age, sex, or order soever they may be, to yield obedience, and give attendance with reverence to the apostolical commands, under the penalties of excommunication, suspension, or interdiction; and that they abstain from all commerce with the foresaid heretics: and to declare, that neither they, nor any others, who, by any contract or otherwise, are in any sort bound unto them to perform or pay any thing, are henceforth at all obliged, or by the same authority can be compelled thereunto.

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In witness whereof, and to give credit to all and every of these premises, we have commanded these presents, our letters, or present public instrument, containing this kind of avocation, citation,

nentes seu continens exinde fieri et per notarium nostrum publicum, et hujusmodi causæ coram nobis scribam infra scriptum subscribi mandavimus, nostrorumque sigillorum fecimus et jussimus impressione communiri. Datum et actum in dicto conventu Sancti Laurentii extra muros Pinerolii sub anno a nativitate Domini millessimo quadringentessimo octuagessimo septimo, indictione quinta, et die vigesima sexta mensis Junii, pontificatus prælibati sanctissimi domini nostri Papæ Innocentii anno tertio, præsentibus ibidem egregiis viris Heustano Nomelli de Otzapio, Bonifacio Bellini de Briceyrapio, thesaurariis dioceseos Ambelis notariis testibus ad præmissa assentire vocatis, rogatis et adhibitis, nihil sit per quempiam innovandum.

and inhibition to be made by our public notary, and to be subscribed by our secretary of such affairs before us as underwritten; and have caused and commanded them to be confirmed with the impression of our seals. Given and enacted in the foresaid convent of St. Laurence, without the walls of Pinerolo, in the year from the nativity of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and eighty-seven, on the fifth indiction, and on the twenty-sixth day of the month of June, and in the third year of the popedom of the fore-named our most holy lord Pope Innocent, there being in the same place present the eminent men, Heustanus Nomelli, of Otzapio; Bonifacius Bellini, of Briceyrapio, treasurers of the diocese of Ambelis, the notaries, as witnesses to the premises, being called, desired and joined to assist, to the end that no innovation should be made by any body.

# N°. XI.

## *Ancient Language of the Vaudois.*

The ancient language of the inhabitants of the Cottian Alps, called Valdesi, Waldenses, or Vaudois, was, (as their topographical situation between France and Italy would imply) a mixture of French and Italian. The Patois, as it is now spoken in the Valleys, is nearly the same; and a comparison between the words in the brief vocabulary subjoined, and those in the original of the "Noble Lesson," which will be found in Appendix, No. II, will show how little the language of this secluded community has varied, for the last seven hundred years. It will also serve to establish the opinion, that the present inhabitants of the Protestant Valleys of Piemont are of the aboriginal race, and not descendants from any German or other refugees.

| English. | Italian. | Vaudois. | French. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Day | Dì, or giórno | Di | Jour. |
| Morning | Mattina | Matina | Matin. |
| Evening | Séra | Sera | Soir. |
| Night | Nótte | Notte | Nuit. |
| You | Voi, vi | Vous, vi | Vous. |
| Your | Vostro | Vost | Vôtre. |
| I | Io | I | Je. |
| Flock | Gregge | Tropel | Troupeau. |
| Lamb | Agnello | Jaynel | Agneau. |
| Cold | Freddo | Fred | Froid. |
| Warm | Caldo | Caoud | Chaud. |
| Hunger | Fame | Fam | Faim. |

| English. | Italian. | Vaudois. | French. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thirst | Sete | Sè | Soif. |
| Fatigued | Stanco | Strac | Fatigué. |
| Time | Tempo | Temp | Temps. |
| Summer | State | Està | Eté. |
| Winter | Inverno | Invera | Hiver. |
| Mountain | Montagna | Montagna | Montagne. |
| Scripture | Scrittura | Scritura | Ecriture. |
| Bible | Bibbia | Bibia | Bible. |
| Festival | Festa | Festa | Fête. |
| Vigil | Vigilia | Viay | Veille. |
| Hen | Gallina | Galina | Poule. |
| Stable | Stalla | Stabi | Ecurie. |
| Horse | Cavallo | Caval | Cheval. |
| Arm | Braccio | Bra | Bras. |
| Leg | Gamba | Gambe | Jambe. |
| Eye | Occhio | Yeue | Œil. |
| Head | Testa | Testa | Tête. |
| Box | Casetta | Cassia | Cassette. |
| Fire | Foco | Feu | Feu. |
| Country | Paese | Paiis | Pays. |
| Soup | Brodo | Breu | Bouillon. |

| English. | Italian. | Vaudois. | French. |
|---|---|---|---|
| I will go | Ci andrò | I vaou | J'irai. |
| Rest yourself | Riposi | Repousévé | Reposez-vous. |
| Let us go away | Andiamocene | Andoumsene | Allons nous en. |
| Give me | Mi dia | Demme | Donnez-moi. |
| Are you amused? | Si diverte ella? | Vi demousévé? | Vous amusez-vous? |
| He is wearied | Egli s'annoja | A sanneuya | Il s'ennuie. |
| I am cold | Ho freddo | I ai freid | J'ai froid. |
| I am warm | Ho caldo | I ai caoud | J'ai chaud. |
| I am hungry—thirsty | Ho fame—sete | I ai fam—sè | J'ai faim—soif. |
| I am not fatigued | Non sono stanco | I son pa strac | Je ne suis pas fatigué. |
| Bring the key | Portate qui la chiave | Pourté mé la ciav | Apportez la clef. |
| Let us get away | Sbrighiamoci | Surtourma | Sortons. |
| Make haste | Usciamo via | Degagiournese | Depêchons-nous. |
| Let us see the horse | Vediamo il cavallo | Buccourna el cavall' | Voyons le cheval. |
| It is very poor | Quanto è magro | Al e ben maire | Il est bien maigre. |
| It is lame | E' zoppico | A soppio | Il boite. |
| What age is it? | Quanti anni ha? | Vaire an allou? | Quel âge a-t-il? |
| It is an old horse? | E un cavallo vecchio | Alle un veii caval | C'est un vieux cheval. |
| What price do you ask for it? | Quanto ne volete | Cosa na voule ou? | Quel prix en voulez-vous? |
| It is a good saddle horse | E un bel cavallo da sella | Alle un bel caval da sella | C'est un beau cheval de selle. |
| It is not worth more | Cio non vale di più | Souli val pa de pie | Cela ne vaut pas davantage. |
| For that price | Per questo prezzo | A coust preci | Pour ce prix. |
| I will take it | Io la prendero | La pierai | Je la prendrai. |
| I will not have it | Non ne voglio | Na voui pa ne | Je n'en veux point. |
| Give me some soup | Datemi il mio brodo | Demme un breu | Donnez moi un bouillon. |
| Good day, Sir | Buon giórno, Signore | Boudi, Signor | Bon jour, Monsieur. |
| How do you do? | Come sta? | Com vaila? | Comment vous portez-vous? |
| Very well | Ottimamente | Drees a drees | Fort bien. |

# N°. XII.

## *Notice of the parochial Collection made in England, in the Year* 1655, *for the Relief of the Vaudois.*

A VERY explicit and satisfactory account of the manner in which this great collection, amounting to 38,241*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* was raised, of the mode pursued for dispensing immediate assistance to the sufferers, and of the measures taken for relieving the future necessities of the Vaudois, by establishing a permanent fund, was published by the authority of the Protector Cromwell and the Privy Council. Morland's History contains a copy of this statement, from which it appears that a committee, consisting of part of the Privy Council, the Lords Chief Justices, and twenty-four other persons of known integrity, was appointed to manage the distribution of the money; and that Morland himself, after his unsuccessful mission to Turin, resided a year at Geneva, as "Commissioner extraordinary for the affairs of the valleys."

It will be needless to give the whole account of the receipts and payments, as the following abbreviate will furnish a sufficient idea both of the contributions, and the disposal of them.

### RECEIPTS.

| Anno, 1655. | £. | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Given by the Lord Protector | 2000 | 0 | 0 |
| Collected within the cities of London and Westminster | 9384 | 6 | 11 |
| Collected in the other parishes of England and Wales | 24977 | 18 | 4 |
| Given by particular individuals | 1735 | 2 | 0 |
| Gained by remission of part of the above | 144 | 3 | 3 |
| | £38241 | 10 | 6 |

### PAYMENTS.

| | £. | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| By cash, corn, bedding, clothes, &c. between June 1655 and Jan. 1658. | 21908 | 0 | 3 |
| Remain in treasurer's hands, to be put out to interest * | 16333 | 10 | 3 |
| | £38241 | 10 | 6 |

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* Seized at the restoration by Charles II.

## N°. XIII.

### *Notice of some of the most distinguished Ministers, or Barbes of the Waldenses.*

For want of a regular and well continued history of the Waldenses, or Vaudois, it is a difficult matter to assign a certain date to the periods, in which some of their most eminent pastors flourished; more particularly as we lose sight of them, when they were obliged to fly from the heat of persecution, or when their records were destroyed by their adversaries. But nothing can be more true, or more important to the cause of truth, than the fact, that for centuries before the age of Luther, and of the other great men, to whom the holy work of the Reformation is attributed, the same doctrines, which they preached, were already established, in their utmost purity, among this little community of mountaineers, who preserved, in their impregnable fastnesses, the faith, and very probably the exact discipline also, of the primitive church of Christ.

Allix, in his "Remarks upon the ancient Churches of Piedmont," contends, that, "if we had such a history, it would be easy to make it appear, that they have always preserved among themselves a church government, and that they distinguished their clergy into three orders, bishops, priests, and deacons." P. 238.

Raynerus, the inquisitor, who wrote an account of the Vaudois in the year 1250, and who, from being a Waldensian barbe, became a persecutor of his former associates, leaves it upon record, that they had a chief bishop among them, who was always attended by two clergymen one of whom he called his elder, and the other his younger son; and that to this bishop were made the reports of those, who were spreading their doctrines in foreign parts.

The number of Waldensian barbes, or pastors, was at one time very considerable; and, in an Italian manuscript, preserved in vol. R, of the Cambridge MSS. entitled, "Historia breve degl' Affari dei Valdesi delle Valli," and bearing date A.D. 1587, it is stated, that there were once assembled at a synod, held in the Val Clusone, no less than *one hundred and forty barbes.*

The same manuscript informs us, that some of these barbes travelled into distant countries, to preach the Gospel, and to visit the Waldensian churches, established in France, Germany, Lombardy, Calabria, &c. and that those who staid at home attended strictly to their pastoral duties, or instructed the youth in grammar, logic, moral philosophy, and divinity, at the college of Angrogna, and at other places consecrated to study.

### *Chronological Table of remarkable Persons and Events in the History of the Vaudois.*

| | A. D. |
|---|---|
| Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, whose arrogance is said to have occasioned the first protest of the churches of the valleys | 314 |
| Ambrose, Bishop of Milan and the north of Italy, protests against the introduction of images into churches, and shews that certain superstitions, prevalent elsewhere, had not extended into the mountainous regions of his diocese | 374 |
| Claude, Bishop of Turin, and of the valleys of Piemont | 817 |
| Claude writes a commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, against Image worship | 823 |
| Date of La Nobla Leyçon, MS. written by a Waldensian barbe, name unknown | 1100 |
| Date of a treatise upon Antichrist, MS. written by a Waldensian barbe, name unknown | 1120 |
| Arnoldo, a Waldensian barbe, fl. | 1150 |
| Esperone, a Waldensian barbe, fl. | 1156 |
| Inquisition established against the Waldenses | 1204 |
| Date of a treatise on the word of God, MS. written by a Waldensian barbe, name unknown | 1230 |

| | A. D. |
|---|---|
| Belinanza, Waldensian barbe | 1250 |
| Rainerus, the inquisitor, writes against the Waldenses | 1250 |
| Bull of Pope John XXII, against the Waldenses | 1332 |
| Walter Lollard, a Waldensian barbe, burnt at Cologne | 1350 |
| Bull of Pope Clement VII, against the Vaudois, speaks of increase of heresy in the valleys of Lucerna and Perosa | 1370 |
| Persecution in the valleys of Pragela and Perosa | 1400 |
| Stephano, the Waldensian bishop, who ordained the three Bohemian pastors burnt at Vienna | 1450 |
| Bull of Pope Innocent VIII, against the heretics, or Vaudois, of Piemont | 1487 |
| Olivetan Robert, a native Vaudois, prints the Bible in French at Neufchatel | 1535 |
| Articles of faith drawn up, and presented by the Waldenses, to Francis I. | 1544 |
| Persecution of the Vaudois, by Emanuel, Duke of Savoy | 1560 |
| Edict published by Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, in favour of the Vaudois | 1561 |
| A second persecution by Emanuel Philibert | 1565 |
| Edict of Charles Emanuel, in favour of the Vaudois | 1582 |
| Persecution of the Vaudois, by Charles Emanuel | 1602 |
| Second edict, published by Charles Emanuel, in favour of the Vaudois | 1608 |
| Second persecution of Charles Emanuel | 1622 |
| An ambassador sent from England by Charles I, to intercede for the Vaudois | 1627 |
| A second ambassador, Lord Carlisle, sent by Charles I, to intercede for the Vaudois | 1629 |
| Edict of Victor Amadeus I, in favour of the Vaudois | 1635 |
| Persecution of Victor Amadeus I, | 1636 |
| Edict of Charles Emanuel II, in favour of the Vaudois | 1653 |
| Terrible persecution of Charles Emanuel II, and great collection in England to relieve the Vaudois | 1655 |

| | A. D. |
|---|---|
| Pietro Gilles, and Jean Leger, historians of the Vaudois | 1669 |
| Massacre, persecution, and banishment of the Vaudois, by Victor Amadeus II. | 1686 |
| March of the exiles, under Arnaud, for the recovery of their country | 1689 |
| Restoration of the Vaudois to their country | 1690 |
| Proclamation of Victor Amadeus II, in acknowledgement of the loyalty and services of the Vaudois | 1706 |
| Edict of Victor Amadeus II, against the Vaudois | 1630 |
| Letters patent by George III, recommending a parochial collection throughout England, in behalf of the distressed Vaudois | 1768 |
| Letter of Victor Amadeus III, acknowledging the loyalty and services of the Vaudois | 1794 |
| Edict of the King of Sardinia, annulling the laws of the late government in favour of the Vaudois | 1814 |

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